

THE ¹
UNLAWFULNESSE
OF
Subjects taking up Armes
AGAINST THEIR
SOVERAIGNE,
in what case soever.

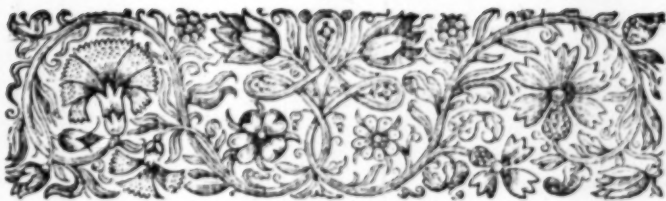
Together with an Answer to all Objections scattered in their severall Bookes.

And a prooffe, that notwithstanding
such resistance as they plead for, were not dam-
nable, yet the present Warre made upon the King is so,
because those caſes, in which onely ſome men have
dared to excuſe it, are evidently not now; His Ma-
jeſty fighting onely to preſerve Himſelfe,
and the rights of the Subjects.

B. Dr. Sigsbee, Sr. *bird: Dicks same*
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The unlawfulnessse of Subjects taking up Armes against their Sovereigne, in what case soever.

S. I.



HE that will endeavour to make the yoke of government more easie, by setting a people loose from the restraints of positive lawes, upon pretence, they may justly use their native liberty, and resume their originall power, if civill constitutions, which were agreed upon for their good, be not effectually

The cause upon which men are misled to a desire of Innovation.

to that end, but prove disadvantageous to them. shall be sure to meet with many favourable Readers. Because the greater part of mankind, as in other matters, so in this present case, are easily prevailed upon, to make a truce with conscience, and eagerly to prosecute what appeares most profitable. And the chiefeit cause of our miseries is, that they do not rightly apprehend what is truly advantageous. For States are framed upon a sinister opinion of men, they suppose most (as it doth commonly fall out) will be dishonest, yet if they be not unwise, and suffer themselves to be carried on, as against conscience, so against interest also, a Kingdome cannot want plentifull meanes of subsisting, of flourishing. The ground of these unhappy mistakes, (which makes them advance publique ruine, wherein all single men will be lost, while they are vainly encouraged by deceiving hopes of being private gainers) can be no other

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but

but this. They rule their actions and desires but by one syllogisme, and looke upon the immediate consequence, which is a satisfaction of some particular ends, and serving some present turne, and have not ordinarily so much depth of understanding, as to be able to discerne the future evils, which will inevitably spring from the same fountaine. They are not capable of that good counsell of *Polybius*, *Non tantum presentia spectare, sed & futura prospicere, & quis exitus inde futurus sit*. The bait orely is visible to most, and accordingly the reall goods which are promised by innovation (for no government being free from all evill, therefore every proposall of change is easily baited with some good) are entertained with delight, but once unwarily swallowed, they become hockes in the entralls. It happens to most men, that they behold the children (as of their bodies, so) of their opinions; but the grandchildren of their tenents:

--- *Caliginosa nocte premit Deus,*

Nepotes discursus, The further removed consequences (though allyed in a right line) they have not strength of reason to dis-

Quisq. nascitur liber, 1. False, because all are subject by nature to paternall power, and consequently to the supream Magistrate, to whom divine law confirmes the severall powers which Fathers resigned up. 2. If true, it concludes not for them, because our naturall liberty is restrained by consent.

cover. To instance in two maine principles, by which the seduced multitude hath beene tempted to catch at empty happinesse, and thereby have pulled upon themselves misery and destruction.

The first is a doctrine craftily instill'd into the mindes of the people, upon no other foundation then a mistake, in the meaning of true and profitable liberty, that the law of Nature doth justifie any attempts to shake off those bonds imposed upon them by Superiours, if inconvenient and destructive of native freedom: the fallacie of which is easily discerned by understanding men. It is true, if we looke upon the Priviledges of Nature, (abstracting from paternall dominion) Freedom is the birth-right of mankind, and equally common to every one, as the Aire we breath in, or the Sun which sheds his beames and lustre, as comfortably upon Beggars, as upon the Kings of the earth. This Freedom was an unlimited power to use our abilities, according as will did prompt. The restraint of which would

would questionlesse have beene very grievous, but that experience did demonstrate, it was not so delightfull to do what ever they liked, as it was miserable, to suffer as much as it pleased others to inflict. For any that was stronger then his neighbour had it in his power to hinder him from injoying the benefits of liberty; nor yet could the most powerfull man among them take any extraordinary comfort in this as yet hostile State, because his minde was distracted with continuall feares, since there was not any so contemptibly weake, but that if he despised his owne life, or desired to enjoy it with more uncontrolled pleasures, he might make himselfe Master of any other mans, though not by force, yet by subtilty, and watching advantages, or at least a few combining might destroy the strongest, and might be tempted so to doe, for their fuller security.

The evils
which flow
from want of
Government.

This was their unhappy condition amidst feares and jealousies, wherein each single person lookt upon the world as his enemy, and doubted (as formerly *Cain*, when he was excommunicated and cut off from the civill body) lest the hand of every man might be upon him; and to this confusion the disturbers of this State endeavour to reduce us, not that this *anarchia*, want of order, most hatefull to God, can be pleasant to the most wicked man; but as knowing the effect of it, an insupportable and generall calamity will quickly unite multitudes into a people again, and force them to restore some government; and they may hope in a new compact to gaine a greater share in the rule, then their ambition hath beene able to force from the settled Kingdome.

I will adde the unavoidable occasions of quarrell, extremely opposite to the prime dictate of nature, the preservation of themselves, and to the meanes which conduce thereto, a peaceable injoyment of the comforts of this life. For whilst every one had right to all, no body could with safety make use of any thing; since when some would take to themselves what others delighted in, their desires and right being equall; there was no title but that of greater force, which could determine to whom it ought to belong, and this could not be knowne but by fighting, and this right reason abhorred, as by which men would ei-

ther be exposed to famine in the midst of plenty, or else be forced daily to hazard the losse of their lives, out of a naturall desire of conserving them.

The remedy of
those evils. ci-
vill unity.

The sense of these calamities quickning their understandings to finde out, easily prevailed with their wils, to entertaine a remedy of so great evils; which manifestly proceeding from division, the ready cure was to make themselves one, because no body is at variance with it selfe. There being no way to effect this naturally, they reduce themselves into a civill unitie, by placing over them one head, and by making his will the will of them all, to the end there might be no gap left open by schisme to returne to their former confusion. Because the wills of men, though the fountaines of all voluntary actions, yet are not themselves the objects of choice; (for we cannot will to be willing, (this would be infinite) but to performe what is commanded) and so are not capable of being obliged by compacts; therefore this submission of all to the will of one; or this union of them agreed upon, is to be understood in a politique sense, and signifies the giving up of every mans particular power into his disposall, so that he may be inabled to force those who are unwilling upon some private ends, to be obedient for the common good; otherwise they would enjoy the benefits of others faith in observing lawes, and the advantages of their owne violations and breaches, which may probably be prevented, if penalties be appointed much greater then the profit which can come by their disobedience; because, as men are naturally tempted by hopes of good, so they are as naturally deterred by a certaine expectation of greater evils.

Thus also by transferring every particular mans power into the hands of one, is not meant a reall laying downe and naturall translation of their strength, (because their nerves and sinewes are not alienable, as their money and goods) but a consent and mutuall obligation (as of all to one, whether he be King, as in a Monarchy; or some Nobles, for they are one too, as in Aristocracy, so of every one to each other) of not using their naturall power, but onely as Law shall require, that is, of not resisting that body in which the supream power is placed, as likewise

wife of aiding him, or them by vertue of that promise, or of that oath, according to the nature of the contract, when he or they summon their strength.

By what is layed downe, may be discovered the weaknesse of their second principle (which hath done most mischief and rill it be thoroughly rooted out of mens minds the seed is still left behind, from whence rebellion will spring) the falsehood whereof, I thought fit to manifest in relation to the peace and quiet of Christendome and the world in generall, it not at all concerning His Majesties case, who was so farre from offering violence, that it was the extraordinary mercy of God upon this land, that did enable him to defend his life against it, his Magazines and forts, and Ships, that is all his civill power being taken from him, and an army actually raised against his personall strength, (for His Majesty had not granted one commission to raise a man, when they began their *defensive warre*) so that *Lucans* expression might seeme fitted to this Kingdomes misery.

*Parque novum fortuna videt concurrere bellum
Atque virum-----*

The doctrine is; the law of nature will defend us, whomsoever we kill, though the King, in our owne defence, and we are acquitted by that principall *vim vi*. (nay some goe higher and make it unlawfull not to resist even the highest authority, it being a sinne against nature &c. whom the examples of the holy Martyrs and of Christ himselfe doe clearly confute, though they cannot satisfy them.) I will briefly answer it, as meaning to enlarge my selfe thereon in the following discourse.

It ceases to be lawfull, after we have made our selves social parts in one body, because we voluntarily and upon agreement restrained our selves from making use of this native right and the renouncing this power by mutuall compact will appear very consonant to sound reason, whether we looke upon the benefits insuing thereby, or the mischiefs avoyded. For it is a more probable meanes to the attaining that very end, in relation to which they plead for it, the preservation of particular

Native right restrained by positive obligation.

Prudentiall
motives for
parting with
some rights of
nature, without
power to re-
sume them.

lar persons. Upon this condition of obliging our selves not to resist publique authority, in requitall for this submission of our private strength, we are secured by the united power of all, and the whole Kingdome becomes our guard. And it is most likely we should be lesse exposed to injuries, when that impartiall and equall measure of right, the known law, is by this meanes maintained. The evils which would flow from this licence to resume our power against contract, are infinite. Our owne feelings too fully instruct us in the sad effects, and I doubt not but the wearinesse of our present sufferings, and the expectation of growing mischeifes, will be powerfull beyond rhetorick to perswade us to value highly the publicke tranquillity. I am confident, if the people of this land (whose eyes have beene opened of late, and they are now sensible, that to continue violences to His Majestie hath introduced a necessity of oppressing them, and that they are bound to be undone in order to the injuries to their soveraigne) were able to deliver themselves from their defenders, we should suddainly be restored to happineffe, and it would be as hard a matter to engage them in a civill warre, when they had againe tasted the sweetnesse of plenty and quiet, as it is to perswade them to agree to peace, who challenge a legall power by the title of warre to dispose of the Kings and Subjects renewes at pleasure.

As reason induced men to enter into such a Covenant, and to lay a mutuall obligation one upon another, not to resist authority upon what ever grounds, whether of fancied, or reall injustice, but to submit their actions and persons to the ordinary triall, though it might possibly happen, that some particulars would be sentenced unjustly, because a farre more considerable good could not be obtained, unlesse by agreement patiently to submit to this possible evill, since the common peace and quiet, cannot be effectually provided for, if it shall be indulged to any, to appeale from the Lawes to themselves, and to judge their Judges: So honesty and religion strictly bind them to preserve their faith intire, and this contract inviolable.

The paines I have taken, to lay open, by way of introduction, to the view and examination of all that desire reall satisfaction,
the

the foundation upon which rule and Subjection are built, will appeare not so delightfull, as it was necessary. And it is no otherwise in the workes of Art, *operum fastigia spectantur, latent fundamenta*. passers by admire the superstructure, when that strength which supports the most elegant piles, lies deeply buried in the earth, and unregarded. It were very strange, if any man should be so prodigiously weake, as to suffer himselfe to be perswaded to remove his chambers and galleries into a healthier aire, a pleasanter prospect and more commodious Situation; and yet the same unreasonable advice is hearkned to, concerning the civill frame, without any consideration of the grounds workes. *Populi salus, suprema lex*, is the Engine by which the upper roomes are torne from the foundation, and seated upon fancy onely, like Castles in the aire. For the safety of the people is really built upon government, and this destroyed, the other, *non jam ades, sed cumulus erit*, will be soone swallowed in the common confusion; but this is evidently and demonstrably ruined by these principles. For government is an effect not of a peoples divided naturall powers, but as they are united and made one by civill constitution; so that when we call it supream power, we impose an improper name, and have given occasion for mistakes (yet I shall not endeavour to alter the common use of speaking, but onely to prevent a misunderstanding of it) because indeed this power is simply one, and when it doth expresse it selfe by one person or more, (according to different formes) who yet are but severall parts of one governour, there is not left in the Kingdome or Common-wealth, any civill, that is, any legall power, which can appeare in resistance, because all of them have bound their naturall hands by a politike agreement.

Hence it followes, those that will allow any power to Subjects against their ruler (let it be, one man, or many united by one common forme, which is the consent of the major part, and this is not capable of division) do thereby dissolve the sinewes of government, by which they were compacted into one, and which made a multitude a people, and so breake the Common-wealth into as many peices, as they have set up opposers against it. For there cannot be two powers and yet the

B

Kingdome

The foundation upon which States are settled, overthrowed if the people be made Judges of their safety, and allowed to use any means which they fancy conducting thereto.

Liberty to resist those in whom the Law places *in gladiis* the right of the sword, destructive to the very nature of government.

Kingdome remaine one. This is that, which distinguishes *France* and *England* and *Spaine* from one another, because they have three powers legally distinct, and are the same in relation each to other, as three particular men meeting in some wilderness, and considered as not having agreed to any Lawes of Society.

I am fully perswaded, no sober man can imagine the policy of this State is so defective, as to open a necessary way to its owne ruine, that is, to divide the Kingdome legally in it selfe; and therefore it must necessarily be granted, those that take up armes being not authorized so to do by law, are guilty of rebellion, and the consequences of it, murder and rapine. It is very easy to determine, whom the Law hath armed with power, because not as ny part of the people, not the two Houses, but the King alone is sworne to protect us, which is an evident argument, he is enabled to effect this end, and that the necessary meanes to compass it, which is the *posse regni*, is at his disposal.

By these generalls thoroughly digested, and rightly applied, we shall be able to rule particular decisions.

I shall desire one thing especially may be remembred, as which hath great influence upon all cases. Though what is truly the right of any one, doth not cease to be so naturally by another's sentence to the contrary; yet after positive constitutions, upon a Judges decision, he can challenge no title to it, because by his owne deed, and consent, he passeth it away in that judiciary determination. And equity and prudence both dictate, that it was a most honest and reasonable agreement, as conducing to publique peace, and the quiet of mankind, that persons publickly constituted and more unconcerned in the decisions, should put an end to all debates. Because otherwise the controversie was not likely to be ended, but with one of the parties; For each man out of naturall favour (the strongest corruptive of judgement) inclining to his owne Interest, there was nothing left but force to determine it. There cannot be a more unhappy administration of Justice, then when strength is made the measure of right, and when all Judges are bribed, as passing sentence to their owne advantage.

THe following Section shall be spent in proving the proposition, by which the consciences of all Subjects must be directed.

It is unlawfull to resist him, or them, in whom the supream authority, (that is, all the legall power of the Kingdome) is placed, and no dispensation (grounded upon what persons soever, as inferiour Magistrates, or upon any cause, as the extreame abuse of this power to their oppression) can excuse such resistance from the sin of rebellion.

Upon this pillar not onely monarchy stands firme, but all other governements are equally supported; the generall reason being applicable, according to the difference in severall formes.

In the third Section I will bring the case home to our selves by proving this assumption; The King of *England* hath this supream power, and then I shall leave it to every mans conscience to inferre the conclusion, therefore it is unlawfull to make resistance against their Sovereigne.

In the fourth Section, I will answer all the evasions (how plausibly soever founded) which I could meeete with in the severall writings of those men, who though they strike at the King downe right and more immediately, yet by plaine and evident consequences they destroy all civill society.

By way of conclusion, I will shew, though such a power of resistance, as they or any others have yet openly pleaded for, should be granted lawfull (as when in their owne defence, or when he that hath the highest authority, and is bound by the law of God and his owne oath, to administer justice equally, yet after frequent representations of their grievances, and most just Complaints of their great sufferings, affords no redresse) yet this can be no justification of the present warre against the King, nor acquit the Actors in it from being rebels. Because this case is evidently not now, as will appeare after a view taken of the causes of this unnaturall, and illegall division.

The proposition to be proved is, It is unlawfull to resist him or them in whom the supreme authority (that is, all the legall power of the Kingdome in order to raise armes) is placed, and no dispensation (grounded upon what persons soever, as inferior magistrates, or upon any cause, as the extreame abuse of this power to their oppression) can excuse such resistance from the sin of Rebellion.

I make no question every man will apprehend, that by resistance here, is meant only hostile opposition, and not a refusal to put unjust commands (measured by divine or humane laws) in execution; for the truth is, if they are, or seeme repugnant to Gods law, (for then they are so really, in respect of those who have that apprehension; *idem est esse & apparere*, in this case of good and bad: because whatsoever is not of faith is sin) we must conforme our practise to that standing rule, layed downe by the Apostle, *Deo magis, quā hominibus*, We ought to obey God rather then men, we are bound (to use *Tertullians* phrase) *temperare majestatem Caesaris infra Deum*. The reasons to the contrary for absolute & unlimited obedience have no solidity.

Differences betweene not obeying against law; and hostile resistance to a lawfull Sovereigne.

Active obedience against Gods law, sin.

Objections to the contrary.

One is upon a false supposall, that at our entrance into civill society, we submitted) as our wills, by which is meant not the faculty, but the effects of it, which were in our power, and which are subjected as farre as they were in our power, that is in all honest performances, for *peccare non est nostri juris*, so) our understanding, and consequently, though in our private opinion, such actions were unlawfull, yet if commanded & said by our rulers to be just, our publique judgement (which we had given them right to passe upon good or bad) did pronounce them honest.

A second argument is, though we thinke such actions unlawfull upon a particular comparing them, with the measure of right and wrong, divine precept, or prohibition; yet from a more generall reason, we thinke this thought of ours condemning such actions, to be an error, and so if we doe, what we thinke in our private judgement God hath forbidden, we doe *contra opinionem agere, sed non contra conscientiam*, practise against our opinion, not against our conscience, because that is
swayed

swayed by this generall reason: If when rulers say such a thing ought to be done, I say, it ought not, the sence of it is, I am wiser then they. But if I grant them the more able men, I must needs thinke they are likely to make truer judgement, and so am bound to submit to the greater discretion, because in morall differences, which are not capable of demonstration, I must guide my practise by the highest probabilities of good. If sheepe knew how apt they are to goe astray, they would be content to be guided by the shepherd, and therefore governors, who are *πρόβητες λαῶν*, are to direct us in the waies of safety. He that shall undertake to be his owne master, will have a foole to his scholler; and he that refuses to follow his guide, and fancies some private turnings, is likely to misse his way, and through many wandrings to come weary to his journeys end.

A third argument is, to challenge to our selves the judgement of good and evill, is the fruit of that bitter root of *Adams* disobedience; *Eritis sicut Dij, scientes bonum & malum*, was the temptation, and the sinne was, he did eate of the forbidden tree of knowledge of good and evill. He was not content to be acquainted with good only, submitting to (that which made actions good or bad) the command or prohibition of him, who had dominion over him, but began to examine the justice and reasonableness of them, and so would make himselfe like the Law-giver.

The answer hereto is easie by distinguishing those things in which God will require from every one a liberty of judging, and a conformable obedience, from things more obscure, and which will require a deeper search then ordinary understandings can make.

Of the first sort are the plaine and familiar truths laid downe in scripture, of which *S. Paul* binds us to be so confident, that though an angel from heaven should preach any other doctrine, we may not admit it. As likewise many morall duties easily discerned even by weake apprehensions. If this were not so, the Apostles rule could not lawfully be made use of, we must obey God rather then men; and the people would be bound to follow their blind leaders into the pit of destruction.

For

Answer.

For Christ tells us both shall fall into the ditch. But the Apostle allows them to whom he spake, to examine his doctrines of this nature, by the rule of their owne understanding. I speake as to them which have understanding judge ye what I say, and judge in your selves, is it comely &c. and in the verse following, doth not even nature it selfe teach you &c. This case is clearly decided in the 14th to the *Rom.* where we learne, if we condemne our actions, though in themselves not blameable, yet to us they are sinne. v. 22, 23. Happy is he that condemneth not himselfe in that thing which he alloweth. He that doubteth, is damned if he eate, because he eateth not of faith; wherefore he gave a generall command in the 5. v. let every man be fully perswaded in his owne minde.

Of the latter sort are things more intricate, and which cannot without great difficulty be judged of. Being such for the most part wherein not mens honesty but their prudence is exercised. And here a submission of judgement is very reasonable. As in law cases to be swayed by the professors of it, or if we build a house to be directed by artists, or in a tempest to take the most probable way of escaping, by relying on the pilots steering the ship and forbidding unexperienced passengers to runne to the helme confusedly and alter the course, according as their ignorance & feares prompt them, upon a conscientious madnesse, that they shall be accessary to their owne death, if they put their lives out of their owne hands, though they commit them to sea-men, whose experience hath better enabled them to avoyd the rockes and the shelves: And thus in civill government, wherein the greater part of men can have no deepe insight, to trust the managery of the publique safety, to persons wiser then themselves, and to bind one another to performe all offices in relation to this end, according as they shall be commanded by their governours, and not to rule their law-givers by disputing the unreasonableness of what is enjoined. And to this captivateing of their understanding religion obligeth them; for God is not a God of sedition, of mutinye, and confusion, but of unity, order and of peace.

The case thus resolved produceth an excellent temper, in
mans

mans obedience; as by which we render to *Cesar* the things which are *Cesars*, and to God the things which are Gods. Be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake. This binds universally, those only cases being excepted, which God expressly and evidently reserves to himselfe; and in them we must take law from the more powerfull. Feare not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soule, but rather feare him, which is able to destroy both soule and body in Hell.

This liberty of denying obedience can neither be offensive nor dangerous to authority.

First not offensive, because magistrates can challenge no more right over our actions, then God gives them or we our selves had, before we submitted them to their commands; which was none in this supposed case, because a dishonest deed *non est nostri juris* is not in our power. We can no more passe away by promise Gods right to our obedience, then we can covenant to transerre and give away another mans goods or demaiesnes.

No inconveni-
encies from
this doctrine
rightly stated;
God to be o-
beyed rather
then men.

Secondly it is harmelesse in the consequences, because if any out of a reall or seeming repugnance to divine precept, deny active obedience, they must confesse themselves obliged by the same conscience of observing the law of God, not to resist that authority, which he hath armed *jure gladij*, with the right of using the sword, probably to this end that Religion might not be a cloke for Rebellion, & that we might not dare out of the feare of God to violate the order of divine providence; by which he hath thought fit to governe the world. This is the patience of the Saints, which shall be rewarded with heaven, because they suffer, rather then doe evill for earthly considerations, as being assured, God hath forbidden them, though for prevention of their particular and undeserved misery, to disturbe the publike happinesse, by resisting that power, which Scripture tells them is from above. It oft times pleases God to make ute of ill governours, and their unrighteous judgement may be his just sentence for our former transgressions; if it be his will to scourge us by them, no smart, should tempt us to cut his rod in peeces.

Because

Because generally men are hardly brought to entertaine a truth, which seemes disadvantageous to them, and comes in ill company, attended with affliction, *Quis enim facile credit, propter quod dolendum est?* (though this should not be amongst Christians who are *crucis candidati*, & *quibus frui fas est Divi iratis*, and who ought to rejoyce in their present sufferings, as the exercise of vertue, and that way to eternall glory, which our Saviour hath chalked out both by example and precept?) I will use the greater diligence in evidencing this point by all kinde of proofes, of which the matter is capable.

Difference betweene Law of Nature and Right of Nature.

If we looke backe to the law of Nature, we shall finde that the people would have had a clearer and more distinct notion of it, if common use of calling it *Law* had not helped to confound their understanding, when it ought to have beene named the *Right* of nature; for *Right* and *Law* differ as much as Liberty and Bonds: *Jus*, or right not laying any obligation, but signifying, we may equally choose to doe or not to doe without fault, whereas *Lex* or law determines us either to a particular performance by way of command, or a particular abstinence by way of prohibition; and therefore *jus natura*, all the right of nature, which now we can innocently make use of, is that freedom, not which any law gives us, but which no law takes away, and lawes are the severall restraints and limitations of native liberty. Upon this ground I have shewed already the right of nature cannot be pleaded against positive constitution, that being a permission onely, and not an injunction, and therefore ceasing by a subsequent obligation arising from promise and compact, when multitudes became one Civil body.

Their owne Scheame of Government serves our turne, and justifies the Kings cause.

I was unwilling to weary the Reader by an unprofitable debate, and different stating of the originall of power. For though it be most true, that paternall authority was regall, and therefore this of Gods immediate constitution, and founded in nature, yet it is not much pertinent to the present decision, nor can it necessarily concerne moderne controversies betweene Rulers and People. Because it is most evident, no King at this day (and much lesse other Governours) holds his Crowne by that title, since severall paternall powers in every State are gi-

ven up, and unired in one common father, who cannot pretend a more immediate kindred to *Adam*, then all the rest of mankinde. For this consideration, I thought fit to lay downe their owne Scheame of Government, and let them make what advantages they can, by presenting to your apprehension a multitude before a people, like a heape of stones, before they are cemented and knit together into one building. I shall onely desire my adversaries would not betray so much want of ingenuity, as to make this favour of joyning issue upon their owne principles, a contradiction. For I thought it losse of time to insist upon their mistakes in the manner of derivation of power, when all of us agree well enough in the thing. That, after the multiplying of mankind, there was an Anarchy is confest, onely they impute it to a want of all Law and Rulers, and we derive it more naturally from the multitude of Governours, whose wills being various, were so many distinct Lawes to those who were under them, when in every family was a Kingdome.

(Θιμιστεύει γὰρ ὅσους

Παίδων, ἢ δ' ἀλόγων·

as *Euripides* describes the *Cyclops*: their Subjects were their owne flesh and naturall Princes, being wives and children) when there were so many absolute Princes within the compasse of a Parish, that a man had scarce roome to walke in a Territory; when a Commonwealth was lodged in a Cottage, this πολυαρχία was the mother of confusion, and by reason of such a multiplicity of Kings, it was not ill stiled *ἄριστος ἀβασίλευς*. Though they had absolute power, yet it was confined within a narrow compasse, and if they exercised any jurisdiction, or made use of their liberty to the prejudice of neighbour States, this begot controversies, and both parties having right to be Judges in their owne causes, they made force the measure of decision, and who was strongest could not be knowne, but by the issue of the warre.

— Quis justius induit arma

Scire nefas, summo se iudice quisque tuetur.

— Hac acies victum factura nocentem est.

To prevent those fatall mischiefes to which they were subject,

C

while

while they lived in this hostile State, evidently occasioned by their divided powers, a way was found out by making their individuall strengths, and the many narrow authorities (which still justified one another) one legall power, and this was placed then with great prudence in one person, to the end the cause of their sufferings might be fully taken away, and that there might not be left a possibility of relapsing into their former miseries, which proceeded from opposition between equall authorities. Thus I grant to them their owne Scheame, yet without prejudice to that truth delivered by *Cedren*, who makes *Adam* the catholique Monarch: *Ἡ πρώτη ἀρχὴ τοῦ κόσμου ἦν ἡ βασιλεία, ἡ δὲ δεύτερη ἦν ἡ ἐλευθερία.*

As reason first represented to them Monarchy, as the most perfect forme, (from which their want of government was a defection, for we may say of Anarchy, *Non fuit sic ab initio*) so sense confirmed it, they having happy experience of those eminent advantages peculiar to this constitution, as unity, secrecy, and expedition. The *Roman* story doth approve this wisdom, by acquainting us with the fatall miscarriages, and bad successes of their Armies, when commanded by two Generalls. And if we looke upon this State in peace, we shall finde by putting downe Kings they laid the seed-plot of those many miserable civill warres, with which that people was so frequently, so extreamely afflicted.

The government of *Rome* according to the forme, democraticall; but according to the practise, an illegall Monarchy. Different judgement of the best forme of government, oft-times the cause of sedition.

The forme of that Commonwealth was Democratically; but if wee judge of it, not as established by Law, but according to the practise almost in all times, we must pronounce the Government an illegall Monarchy. For either some one man governed the Senate, and made them an instrument to oppress the people, or else (according as it was aptest to advance his interests) siding with the people, and telling them the Nobles took too much upon them, he by their power compassed his private ends under the names of common good, & publique safety.

The truth is, the different judgement of the best State, doth *de facto* open a gap to sedition, because men naturally desire to live most happily, and are easily tempted to contribute their endeavours to any change, which they fancy for the better; though

though in right it ought not to be so, notwithstanding some forme might be proposed, which were really more perfect, because our faith once given to the present government, cannot be recalled; this civill union is as fast tyed as the marriage knot, we are bound to take it for better for worse. And if otherwise, States would probably be shorter liv'd then men, as having their foundation on the sands, that is, on the inconstant wills of the people, who are blowne about with every winde of contrary discourses. But in this dispute concerning the best forme of civill society, there is a great fallacy, as yet not fully discovered. Schemes are drawne in speculation, and politique discourses are framed, which beare much resemblance with some figures of Mathematicians, which are made with much ease upon paper, and with apparence of solid demonstration, so that the Schollers not able to object against it, entertaine it for certaine knowledge. But when reduced into practice in wood or stone, the failings are presently seene, and their contemplations appeare vaine and unprofitable, because they did not take into consideration the capacity of the Subject, on which they were to worke, nor fore-saw what resistance the matter would make. This error is committed in the comparison of States, and many plausible reasons are laid down for the rule of the Nobles, or of the people; which are best confuted by experience. For when it is debated, whether Monarchy be the most convenient government, the true sense of it is this, (if we judge according to the frequent practice, which in Politiques is made the most reasonable measure of Lawes) whether the people will live more happily when Law places the supream power in one, and nominates that person (by which no roome is left for division) or when one man being more active and crafty then his fellowes, who ought to have an equall share in this authority, raises a faction upon plausible pretences, and under colour of serving his side, perswades them to be commanded by him, and so exercises the supream power in an illegall way: which as it is compassed by ingaging the people in misery, under colour of making them more happy, so it must be kept up by as bad arts, and an Army must be main-

Fallacy in discourses concerning what kinde of government is best.

tained, to make good by force, what Law cannot justifie.

I do not wonder, (for it is no strange thing, part of the people should be unwise) that some should be induced to cast off Monarchy. They are told, it is very unreasonable that one should have all the power,

---(*Toto liber in orbe
Solum Caesar erit;*)

They may upon the same ground perswade them to quarrell with God Almighty. Their meaning is (though they dare not speake out) there is no government good, unlesse they have a share in it. This interest of being joynt Soveraignes, makes them unable to see, or else willing to dissemble the apparent dangers which division threatens, as likewise the great disadvantages which wait on slow proceedings, (counsels, as well as men, growing weake by age) and the unhappy miscarriages of brave undertakings, because not managed with fitting secrecy. All these three are plainly spoken in many Governours, Faction, Delay, Opennesse.

By what means
so many of the
people are mis-
led into Rebel-
lion.

The method whereby the peoples affections are poysoned, and wonne to a dislike of the present State, and by degrees, brought first to desire, then to attempt an Innovation, is this. All the defects (how unavoidable soever, by reason of secret lets and hinderances not to be fore-seene, as depending upon many circumstances, which are variable according to other mens wills, and which they have not the honesty to put the people in minde of) are with great care represented to their considerations, and much diligence is used to set before them a perfect Catalogue of what ever faults have beene committed by inferiour Magistrates and under Officers; and as they have excellent memories in repeating grievances, so they have learned an art (very convenient for their ends, and for creating a misunderstanding betweene King and people, that they may manage the discontents of the Subject to advance particular designs) to forget the severall satisfactions given by Princes, when upon generall complaints, they are fully instructed in their Subjects sufferings.

The next worke is to assigne such a cause of these corrupti-
ons

ons as shall open a way to the alteration they aime at, which is, to impute them to the nature of a monarchicall government, by telling them, their happinesse is built upon a very uncertaine foundation, the will of one man, and if he be bad, they must surely be miserable.

Lastly, a promise is made, of healing all their evils, and the remedy is, *multitudo medicorum* (the same plausibilities may be urged to perswade an entertainement of many Physicians about a sicke person, as about a distempered State, but experience masters these reasons, and hath demonstrated the danger of it) they must place the Sovereigne power amongst many, to the end, if one should faile of his duty, others may supply it, if one should be willing to oppress, others may be able to protect them. It fares with men in the distempers of State, as in those of their bodies; They are easily induced to make triall, of what any man tells them will do them good, and they have the strongest phancies to thole things of which they have least experience. But the Fallacy which abuses the people is *non causa pro causa*; there ever was and alwaies will be matter of Complaint, under what kind of regiment soever we live, and till men be absolutely perfect, the government cannot be so; voluntary corruptions, and naturall frailities must have an influence upon every state. This tampering with the Body to reduce it to perfect health, hath overthrowen many excellent constitutions, and such kind of physicke proves the most dangerous disease. Wherefore we must not fall out with our selves upon every distemper, and presently thinke of altering our naturall habit, lest we make our selves well, only as dead men are so. It may become State-doctors to take notice of *Hippocrates* his Aphorisme, *consuetudo longo tempore, etiamsi deteriora, insuetis minus molesta esse solent*.

It will concerne us in prudence to take that course which will convey to us the greatest goods, and is the most probable way of avoiding the most evils. And this I conceive monarchy is most likely to effect, and I make no doubt the people would be of the same opinion, if their affections had not beene craftily prevailed upon, by that miserable fallacie of unequall comparison, betweene a King not performing his trust, and Nobles not

Fallacie of une-
quall compari-
son.

Greater hopes
in Monarchy;
greater feares
in an Aristocra-
cy.

failing of their duty as if the word *desesperatio* or optimacie would warrant it) whereas if they were put into a just ballance they ought to be supposed both good, or both bad, and then a true judgement might be made of the mischeifes and advantages; Then we should clearly discern, we have greater hopes under a vertuous King, (suppose both good) and greater feares under a vicious nobility or Senate, (suppose both bad) And besides there is one very considerable circumstance, which ought to rule much in the decision; it is much more probable we shall have a good King, then a good nobility. (I take good in a politique sense, for that only concerns the present dispute, and understand it in this notion, as providing for the peoples happiness.) Because his interest is the same with that of the People, which is strong State security; whereas that of particular Nobles, and much more of men of lower ranke, where such are admitted, is divided from the publique happiness. The Commonwealths of *Greece* will afford many examples of persons selling their Country, and putting the great Councell upon ill attempts, and labouring with their utmost cunning to frustrate good designs, because their dependance upon a forraigne Kingdome or State, was worth much more unto them, then they could hope to gaine by honest service to their Country.

Kings interest
the same with
the peoples;
that of Nobles
divided from
their happiness.

Much greater
happiness in
Monarchy.

First, we have greater hopes under a vertuous King: because upon supposall that both be willing to promote the peoples happiness, yet he is more able to compass that end, by reason he hath a more united power, and the execution of what ever designs, depends but upon a single resolve, and therefore may be managed with certaine closeness, and all convenient swiftnesse, so that good counsells shall be first discovered in the effects: whereas a great body moves slowly and most times the opportunity of doing is gone by, while they are but halfe way in their deliberation.

Subjects living under good Lords or Senators (such as value the honour of being esteemed worthy patriots, above the advancing their owne fortunes, or raising children, or preferring friends, *subsidia dominationi*, or enriching kindred, and these qualities rarely meete in the major part of an assembly) seeme

to me to be in the same state, as children who have lost a father, and whose fortunes by his care are left to Feoffees in trust; these though extremely honest, yet by reason of necessary particular cares, which more immediately concerne them, and because they are many, and so every one expects the rest will probably be carefull to performe this trust, and therefore he may be spared, and allowed to spend his time more advantageously in improving his owne estate, especially this performance of faith to a dead man being a very barren vertue, either the wages being payd before, or else nothing allotted. He presuming upon their goodnesse, and frequent deep Protestations of loving his equall to themselves, and thinking it an unworthy thing, to set a price upon an old friends fidelity, and so leaving it to be rewarded onely by heaven, and the same honest care in others of their children; These I say out of reall or very plausible hinderances, are forced to neglect the childrens portions, and the poore Orphans receive uncomfortable satisfaction. They would have beene in much better condition, though strangers in worldly affaires, if wholly left unto themselves, because their necessities would have quickned them, whereas now their hands are tyed up from helping themselves, and all they can contribute towards making themselves Masters of their owne fortunes, is a fruitlesse impudence in vainely importunating the curators: So is it most times in the government of many, though understanding, and good men; which is a rare happinesse, and yet no security against miseries, because *onus commune negligunt singuli*, what belongs to their common care, frequently miscarries by particular negligences.

Secondly, we have greater feares under vicious Lords or Senators; That is, it stands with cleare and evident reason, we should be more miserable, living under many tyrants, then under one. The thirty tyrants of *Athens*, and the Decemviri of *Rome*, and that state variously oppressed, sometimes by the Senate, sometimes by the people, and at length to prevent ruine *cadens in sinum imperatorum*, are examples of this sad truth. That which makes a people out of love with monarchy is a contemplation of the miserable consequences of abused power, where-

Greater miseries in Aristocracie.

Monarchy a more healthy constitution.

as the government by Senate is more apt to degenerate, and the oppressions under it are more intolerable.

As there are many advantages peculiar to Monarchy, so there is not any one inconvenience to which a people living under an Aristocracy (as to instance for the better understanding it, under a Parliament as it is now mistaken for the two Houses, challenging absolute obedience to their Ordinances, without the Kings ratification, nay against his plaine denyall, by which they are null by the Law of *England*) are not subject in a much higher degree.

The diseases
of a Senate
more violent.

Let us suppose a Prince to be lustfull, or cruell, or covetous, or prodigall, and wasting what might be imployed on the publique upon favourites. If these vices are so grievous, when confined within one brest; to what height will our misery swell, when they shall be scattered through all parts, and be active in each corner of the Land? Their wives and daughters may be safe by distance, and live out of the reach of one mans embraces: If his loose desires are so insatiable, how can they weary those of so many? Secondly, it is more easie not to incur the hatred of one, whereas there are scarce possible wayes of compliance with so many crosse humours. One will never fill out with all, for he knowes he should have an ill match of it, whereas the whole State may suffer by cruelty exercised by divided oppressors, because each man gives full reines to his revenge, as thinking it safe enough, the feares from a few persons crusht by him, being below the delight of manifesting his power in his enemies calamity. Thirdly, the covetousnesse of Senators is more devouring, because we may feed one fire with lesse expence of fewell, then a hundred. And fourthly a Princes profuse spending upon favourites is infinitely over-ballanced by so many providing for their poore kindred, and making friends, and purchasing dependants. This art (very necessary to all men imployed in State affaires, who are subject to various censures) of underpropping their reputation, and hiring Advocates to plead for them in their absence, must draw out very considerable summes, and be more chargeable to the people (from whom the supplic must come) then the bounty

of one man, though showed downe over-plentifully upon some few privadoes. The wisest States have ever made ample allowances to enable their Prince to bestow favours according to merits, or liking, (the priviledges of every private man) it arguing a noble soule to be bountifull.

It hath beene shewed already, that Monarchy is a more healthy constitution, and that when sicke the diseases of it are lesse violent, and it will easily be made to appeare, they are more curable. Good counsell. or at least age and experience hath reformed many Princes; but however our grievances are mortall, the death of one opens a way to better hopes: but

the corruption of a Senate ends in dissolution. *Tacitus* gives a full character of the distempers which are fatall to a degenerate Senate. *Inter Patres plebémque certamina exarsere, modò turbulenti tribuni, modò consules prevalidi; & in urbe ac foro tentamenta civilium bellorum. Mox è plebe infima C. Marius, & nobilium savissimus L. Sulla viſtam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt.* 2. *hist.* There arose hot contentions betweene the Nobility and Commons; now the factious Tribunes bore sway, then the Consuls kept them under. In the City and the place of publique assembly there were frequent skirmishes, the Preface and Essayes to a civill warre. Anon

Caius Marius, the meanest of the Commonalty; and *Lucius Sulla*, the cruellest amongst the Nobles, destroying their liberty and property by the assistance of their illegall *Milisia*, introduced an absolute and unbounded government.

There be some, with whom that of Ecclesiastes prevails, *wo to thee O land, when thy King is a child*, and they thinke it a strong argument against monarchy, because this calamity is not incident to a senate, they not being subject to nonage. But this place rightly understood, is a very full confirmation of the happy condition we have reason to expect under monarchy, and of the calamity and woes which probably attend an Aristocracy. For the cause of those miseries foretold is plainly this, A King during his infancy being not able to rule, the government is managed by the nobles. Whence we learne, that change which the people oft times with sinfull earnestnesse labour

bear for, isto be found in the catalogue of Gods judgements, and they sue for, and by wicked arts endeavour to comp'sse their owne punishment. It is an argument of Gods great mercy to them, that he fights against them; if he were thoroughly angry, the designs of innovatours would have better successe. This truth is warranted by scripture. *For the transgression of a land, many are the princes thereof: but by a man of understanding and knowledge the state thereof shall be prolonged.* prov. 28. 3.

Popular forme
the worst go-
vernment.

To all these corruptions a popular state is more subject, and the imperfections of it, are so much the greater, as it is farther distant from monarchy; the temper of it (which is unity, the soule of government) being more easily dissolved. Those which cry it most up, will be unwilling to admit it in their families, which are smaller principalities. Three things especially have made it so taking with the vulgar. 1. a pretended impartiall administration of justice; 2^d. an empty name of liberty; and 3^d the so much applauded equality, by which they seeme to reduce their civill constitutions to the primary lawes of nature, which gave to all men a common right.

More equall ad-
ministration of
justice without
reason, and a-
gainst experi-
ence, promised
in this forme

Concerning the first, their hopes that justice should be more equally administred, are grounded upon this probability: It is very hard to corrupt a multitude into favour or respect of persons; (though some rivers have beene infected, the ocean cannot be poysoned.) A man may satisfy the interests of one or some few, but to buy injustice of so many would be no thriving trade, he might more cheaply loote his cause. This is a plausible but very fallacious argument. Because experience makes it evident, that to prevent the evils of division, which the many following particular and crosse interests doe beget, one remedy is constantly made use of, which is this; some few of the more crafty citizens, who have gained credit with them, agree together in private, & order businesse at their close committee, and so undiscernably lead the multitude on to what ever they call the publike good, of which they having prevailed upon their affections are esteemed the most competent Judges. And what is this, but to pretend to a Democracy, and be governed by an illegal Aristocracy? By this meanes any one of
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the Junto (for they must gratify each other mutually) is enabled to stop the course of law in a freinds behalfe, and to put a sharper edge upon the sword of justice when it strikes an enemy. These kind of men have got the Art of changing the peoples opinions of just and unjust, according as it is more suitable to their owne profit, and they are not so much beholding to any solid wisdom for it, as a kind of frothy eloquence, which wee may observe in their set speeches and declamations, with much cunning fitted to the capacity of their auditors. They do not at all trouble themselves to satisfy reasonable men, for they are but a few, and can stand them in little stead, where things are carried by the greater number, and reasons are not weighed, but told. The art is, to apply their harangues to that which rules weaker men, the affections (*suadendo docent, non docendo suadent*) and these are easily convinced, and made the measure of their judgement; the want of weight in the premises being supplied by an extraordinary love to the conclusion. It was too truly said in reference to these popular decisions.

— — — *Utilitas justi propè mater & aqni est.*

From this fountaine arise the many debates amongst men in civil affairs. For in Mathematicall knowledge, because it concerns not *menm* and *tuum*, there is an unanimous consent; all agree, what lines are streight, and what crooked; but the judgements of right and wrong, are as various as their interests different.

Secondly, concerning liberty, it is very strange that men should so generally fall in love with a bare sound, and court a name of freedome, which duely examined, will be found to signifie nothing. They cannot meane by it a loosensse from all lawes, because their intent is to change, not take away government; they dare not owne such a pernicious licence. And therefore the true debate amongst men is, not whether they shall admit of bonds, (that is such obligations as lawes lay upon them, these are readily embraced) but who shall impose them; the question is not *an servient, sed an uni vel pluribus*, and it is commonly called liberty, to serve more masters.

The restraint of our freedome is that which is most valuable amongst

The objection of greater liberty, answered.

amongst the benefits of government. For this preserves peace between men, that their hands are tyed up from doing injuries. Though we naturally delight in a full and absolute liberty, yet the love of it is over-ballanced by feares; every one could wish to retaine it himselfe, but not upon this condition, that all others should enjoy the same freedom. Because as the contemplation of our owne liberty is pleasant, to do what we list, so there is a more sad consideration arising from the thought of others freedom to make us suffer, as much as they may be tempted to inflict.

Æqualitate nihil est iniquius

Thirdly, concerning equality, if they urge, it comes nearer to the law of Nature, by the same reason they must dissolve the bonds of all government, since there can be no Magistrate, no Superiour and Inferiour, and *par in parem non habet imperium*; so we must indulge to every man to doe what seemeth good in his owne eyes. This argument doth not conclude for one forme above another, but equally destroyes all, and is applyed to a popular State, onely out of resemblance of some imperfections common to both, because that government comes nearest to none, and is but few degrees removed from Anarchy and confusion. But the truth is, this equality which they so passionately affect, is clearly against nature, who if an equality of rewards had beene intended, would have made all men equally deserving. Reason doth teach us, since it is manifest, we may excell others by education and industry; greater encouragements should be allotted, in consideration of the charges of good breeding, and of the extraordinary studies, whereby men enable themselves for the honour and good of the publike. Besides this equality, though pretended to conserve, doth in truth destroy amity, for none are so quarrellsome, none so subject unto envy, as equals.

We may judge of the thriving of popular States, by what we observe in commons, which are alwayes poore, and bare, and if taken into one mans hands, would be improved fourfold: we finde by experience what all should looke after, is neglected by every one, whilest each man thinks his particular expence of time and study will not conduce much, and that they may be supplied by others, and therefore he chooseth to employ them

them rather on his private interests much more profitably.

Seeing that the greater part of men in a popular sway, are bred up to gaine, they make profit for the most part the rule of their actions, and so entertain but little sense of honour. And hence this State is easily corrupted by their low affections, so that particular persons may be sometimes rich, the State can never be glorious. How can the happinesse of that Commonwealth be lasting, where the wiser and honestest part being still the fewer, must be ruled by men of weake understandings, and of corrupt affections, men extreemely violent, if they be not awed, and in their feare irresolute in all their proceedings, men not capable of secrets, so that they expose themselves to all disadvantages? Their assemblies are full of inconstancy and disorder, it is very hard to separate tumult and multitude. The wiser oft times dare not speake, fearing the madnesse of the people. For if things should succeed ill by some secret lets, they are sure to suffer for the event, since amongst such Judges it is not enough to counsaile prudently, unlesse fortunately also. The States of *Sparta* and *Athens* will afford plenty of examples.

If they be not united by feare of a forraigne warre, they will quickly breake out into a domestique. They are well compared to the raging of the waves; their contrary humours easily raise a tempest. The united Provinces are thought by many to owe more to the *Spaniards* constant enmity, then to the aides of *English*, *Scots*, or *French*. (And yet without their assistance they had beene long since swallowed up,) and they may thank the justice of Monarchies, that these friends made them not a prey to themselves. He is a stranger in the *Roman* story, who knowes not how fatall Mercenaries were, when leat by a Commonwealth. If he would not have fought with them, he had conquer'd them long ere this. The fate of *Greece* would have beene theirs, *Græcia civitates dum imperare singula cupiunt, omnes imperium perdiderunt*: we see how the *Athenians*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Thebans*, *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Corinthians*, *Bæotians*, with others, variously siding, that they might keepe the ballance even, miserably warred upon one another,

till at last *Philip* tooke advantage of their discords, and made himselfe King of all.

I have bene tempted into this large digression, for the fuller satisfaction of the people, in whom a dislike of the present government is begot, and so a way is laid open for a change of it, upon pretence some other forme would be more advantageous. Which first is not true, and therefore they have not any motive for disloyalty, since they would be dishonest against Interest. And secondly, if it were true in it selfe, yet it is not so, when a State is settled under another forme, the certaine miseries of a civill warre, and the great difficulties of setting it together, when it is torne into so many pieces, will be above any hopes they can reasonably propose to themselves. And thirdly, if it could be done advantageously and safely, yet it cannot honestly. They will forfeit Heaven for that, which in all probability will make them more miserable upon earth; and it were a sad purchase, if they should obtaine as much as their ambition or covetousnesse can devour. Civill society is founded upon Justice, and supported by Religion, which obligeth us to preserve the faith of contracts intire. We are bound to stand to our bargaine, though it should appeare it might have bene better made. Experience shewes us, that States may live and flourish too under the worst forme of government, and they are not immortall under the best. Let the imperfections be more or lesse in this or that kinde of regiment, they cannot dissolve the Subjects conscience; though he may have reason to preferre other Lawes, he must have so much religion to be obedient to those under which it pleased God to place him.

It is high time to make particular application of the former discourse, concerning the originall of government, and by a distinct state of it to give light to all which followes.

True state of
government in
generall, with
application to
that of this
Kingdome.

Non est potestas nisi à Deo, saith the Apostle, *Rom. 13.* There is no power but of God, that is, the right by which the Magistrate governes, and all the jurisdiction he exerciseth is derived from divine ordinance. This may be conveyed either immediately, as amongst the *Jewes*, when God designed the person, which
now

now no State will pretend; or else *mediante populi consensu*, the consent of the people intervening, and this two wayes, either by a free election, upon hopes from his extraordinary goodnesse; or by conquest, attended with a voluntary submission, upon feares from his extraordinary power, that he may be willing to protect, who was able to injure: whether of these motives presented the person, is not certaine in the first times, but it is cleare their Empire was absolute (I exclude not the bounds of justice according to the Lawes of right reason, and equity) usually knowne by the name of *τιμωρασία*, in which *arbitria principum pro legibus erant*. Though this continued long in the world, and the Easterne people enjoyed a great measure of happinesse under it, and therefore with great reason (to use the expression of *Tacitus*) *additè admodum regnabantur*. they were subject most devoutly; yet the sense of some sufferings (as the fate of humane things is interwoven with a mixture of good and evill) suggested a remedy, which was to bound his power within the limits of positive Lawes. From hence proceeded the different qualifications of Regall power in severall Kingdomes. Some, though restrained by Lawes, yet were truly Monarchs, *ὅχι ὑπὸ νόμοις πέλει*, being not responsible for any breaches, as supreames, though not absolute: others had the name and title of Kings only, but were subject to a superiour jurisdiction, as *Thesens* to the people, the *Spartan* Kings to the *Ephori*. It is not necessary to determine that question, whether the frequent debates about the not observation and the breaches of these agreements, (which, a discontented part of the people challenging the liberty of being Judges in this case, and the King thinking he had as much right, did produce civill warres, and most unnaturall distractions) have not heretofore, and will probably hereafter make States more unhappy then they were even in their worst times, and when they suffer'd most under the abuses of one mans power, whilst there was, though sometimes an unjust, yet alwayes a certaine way of ending controversies; when a sentence, if it did not finde, yet made a right, and *res judicata pro veritate accipiebatur*. To decide this, I say, is not altogether necessary, because the obligations which
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lye both on King and people have their strength from this, not that he might better governe the people in such or such a way, but because this particular government is established by the consent of both parties; their wills give the forme to the regiment, and not the conveniences of it. To come nearer home, and grant as much as reasonable men, and those which understand the nature of government can require. For I thinke they doe ill service to the cause, though with good affections, who out of a desire to make it more firme and stronger, place it upon any other then the naturall foundation, and that which is onely fit to support it, and take the rights which God gave to the Kings of *Judah*, for the measure of all regall authority, which if they were, all Kings would have equall power, but this evidently varyes according to different Lawes, and is more or lesse according to severall constitutions. That which is pleaded for in this discourse, as common to them and our Kings, is onely *jus regni*, the right of Monarchy, not to be accomptable to any inferior jurisdiction.

I shall not deny, a Kingdome may be so constituted (but then it is no Monarchy) that upon a reall breach of such or such conditions, named in the compact, and a forfeiture being expressed, the sword of Justice may be taken up by some Magistrates, appointed by law, as the *Ephori* amongst the *Lacedaemonians*; or by the people, as at *Rome* when the last appeale did legally lye unto them. (for it did not alwayes, as when a Dictator was created, he was the whole people for six moneths, and though the time of his reigne was limited, his power was not bounded, he was *arvmtvov*, accomptable to none for what he did in his regency, no, not when a private man again: and so under the Emperours, as appeares by the *Lex Regia*, quoted by *Ulpian*, which transferred all the peoples power upon him, (*L. quod, D. de constit. prin.*) A mistake upon this hath seduced so many of the Kings Subjects into Rebellion. For because it is made appeare a State may be so established, and they are induced to beleieve, it is more reasonable it should be so established; upon these premises they conclude most inconsequently, that our State is so established, and in the strength of this fight
against

against His Majestie, and did their best to kill Him, contrary to Gods ordinance, applyed to our civill constitutions, and repugnant to their owne oath, in which they swore to be loyall in reference to His Person, and that they would defend His life with their utmost power.

That a Kingdome may be so established, a considering man will not gainsay. If the State of *Venice* should call their Duke King, this new name would not convey any new power into him. Election or succession cannot rule the case; for an elective Kingdome may be conferred absolutely, as will appear in the *Roman* Empire, and a successive may be subject to forfeiture, if this be exprest in the Covenant. For succession is not a new title to more right, but a legall continuance of what was first gotten.

2. That it is more reasonable so to establish a Kingdome, that the Prince shall be accomptable to a higher power, either placed in some Magistrates, or in the people, (and then by the way it is not a Monarchy, but either an Aristocracy or a popular State) though this be very false, yet if it were true, it cannot justify this warre now undertaken as things are ordered in this Land, against the King. Because Policy is no dispensation against observing knowne Lawes, and we may not destroy our Governours out of reason of State; *Machiavell* must not give Law to the Gospell. If we might challenge such liberty, there were not such a thing as Justice, our oaths would be of no force against Interest; profit should be the measure of our actions, and we must conclude all right what ever was advantageous. Since then not such persons as they could better fancy, but those onely whom the Law hath confided in, and enabled to that end, can put Armes into the hands of the people, it concernes every man, as much as his soule is worth (for that will certainly be lost in those great finnes of Rebellion, Perjury, and Murder) sadly to examine whether to fight against the King, be not to resist the Supream Power, to which God hath threatned damnation.

Every State hath a supereminent dominion or paramount interest over all particular men, and what belongs to them, and

Non-resistance
to the supreme
power, essenti-
all to the prefer-
vation of order.

consequently hath full power to restrain the licence of resist-
ing; for the preservation of order and publique tranquillity.
That it should lay such an obligation upon all Subjects, there is
evident reason, because what the supreme power, that is the
State (in order to those things wherein supremacy consists)
does, is truly the act of all, and none can have just cause of quar-
rell for dislike of what they themselves doe; and moreover
necessity inforces it. Because without this the essence and be-
ing of a State were destroyed, which is, Order. For this cea-
ses, if first and last be confounded, and the Citie is dissolved in-
to a multitude, and that which should be one body, becomes so
many independent men.

The benefits which are conveyed to us by men in authority,
are described by *Timothy* 1. 2. 2. and he calls them *the leading
of a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty*. It is not
imaginable how they should be enabled to compass this end,
except some sentence be supreme, from which it shall not be
lawfull to appeale; and consequently except that power which
Law armes, and which lookes to the execution of what is de-
creed, be not to be resisted. For if it should be indulged to us
to change our Adversary, and fall out with the Judge, and as oft
as we thinke we suffer wrong by his determination, to take the
freedom of righting our selves, upon this ground, that *his duty
is to give righteous judgement, and therefore not satisfying that
trust, he is no longer a Judge, then just; his sentence ought not to
be submitted to, for we are not bound to be obedient to his will, but
law; if he endeavour to put it in execution by himselfe or his ma-
lignant Officers; though we kill him, it is no fault, because vio-
lence was offered only to his person, not to his authority, which
was none in this case, because he judged against Law, and that
gives not power to its owne overthrow; it is evident this princi-
ple makes our strifes and debates endlesse, all our Lawes would
be writ in blood; it breakes in sunder all the bonds with which
the goodly frame of government is knit together, and robbes us
of our peace under Anarchy and confusion. Out of this consi-
deration the wisdom of all States hath thought it fit to secure
the person or persons in whom the supreme power is seated,*

by

by the strictest Lawes, and most severe punishment, which cannot consist with a liberty of resistance, to the indangering his or their lives. By the Civill Law, a Souldier was cashiered, not if he did strike againe, but if he onely kept off some strokes, and held the rod of a Centurion; but if he broke it willingly, or offered the least violence, he was sacrificed to the *Roman* discipline, and expiated his offence by death. Certainly the people would have nourished in their breasts a greater reverence, and more awfull respects towards Majestie, if they had not beene ill catechized and taught, that *Dei minister est nobis in bonum*, He is the Minister of God, might be construed, the Peoples servant; and that a King is but their creature, and therefore in duty is bound to submit to his maker.

The truth is, we finde it called by *Peter ἀποστολὴν ἡμῶν*; the people have a hand in it, this cannot be denied, but we have it in the same verse raised into a divine workmanship, *κατατάγητε τῷ Κυρίῳ*, acknowledge your selves to be subject, submit to the King, or breake not order, in which he is first or supream, for the Lords sake: *1 Pet. 2. 13.* The worke is taken out of their hands, when they have contributed as much as they were able, which was to give up their divided powers, and unite them in him; their act made him the fountaine of all that power which they had, and by consequence the fountaine of all honour, that alwayes bearing proportion to the former; for to honour is nothing else, but to testifie by our actions an opinion of so much or so great power in any one, and therefore the same act is exprest onely in different words, *Feare God, honour the King: v. 17.* If they had beene changed to honour God, feare the King, they had signified the same duty. And therefore it is said, *Servants be subject to your masters with all feare: v. 18.* The worke I say is taken out of the peoples hands, and God himselfe perfects it. If it had staid there, if God had not pleased to adde to, and finish it, yet it had beene most true, that no resistance were lawfull; and evidently false, that he were *universis minor*, because he that hath supream, that is, all their power, is the representative all, he is legally the whole people. But the obligation of not resisting is infinitely more weighty, if

The King is
Dei Minister,
not the peoples
servant, nor
their creature.

The King Gods
representative,
as well as the
peoples.

Power over the
life of many
from God only,
not from
the people.

we consider him not only as representing the people, but as representing God himselfe. He hath given to him a power of a much higher nature, a part of his dominion over the life of man. The people could not agree together to dispence with Gods precept, *Thou shalt not kill*, nor distinguish shedding blood with the sword of vengeance from murther. It was not possible for any man to give away a greater right over his owne life then he had, *Nemo plus juris ad alium transferre potest, quam ipse habet*; and he had nothing to doe in the disposall of any others, and therefore except killing a mans selfe be lawfull, the people cannot enable the Magistrate to take away their lives. Hence it followes, though that be lamentable Sophistry in many respects, *Quicquid efficit tale, est magis tale*, urged to maintaine a cleare contradiction, that Subjects are above him whom they have placed over them; yet if it were sound reason, it were a very impertinent argument, because it proceeds upon a false supposall, that the people should *efficere talem*. Because *jus gladii*, (to beare the sword innocently, and to cut off offenders without deserving greater punishment then they inflict, by transgressing against Gods knowne will, *Vindicta mea, ego retribuam*, Vengeance is mine, I will repay saith the Lord,) must referre to God as the author. Magistrates are Θεῶν λειτουργοί, Gods Delegates, and not the peoples; Θεῶν δαίμονες, ἄνδρες τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Gods Ministers, his revengers, (or as it is better without a comma,) his revenging Ministers to execute wrath. It is very strange the people should be so much abused, as to be perswaded to take upon them Gods Prerogative, and to usurpe his language. *Psal. 82. 6. We have said, ye are Gods*; and to contradict Christ, who sayes to his unjust Judge, *Thou couldest have no power to take away my life, unlesse it were given thee from above*: but they state it otherwise, unlesse it were given thee from beneath, from us, and we were not so mad as to contract for our owne ruine.

Most of their Writers in their printed Sermons and Pamphlets, declaine against this tame behaviour, this obligation not to resist, as an absurd and sencelesse thing, and a condition repugnant to mans nature, and unworthy of reasonable creatures; but

but I must tell them God was not of their opinion, who thought it fit to governe his owne people in this way: who ever was not obedient to what the highest authority did deter- mine, was to die, as appears *Dent. 17. 12, 13. The man that will doe presumptuously, and will not hearken to the Priest, (that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God) or unto the Judge, even that man shall die, and thou shalt put away the evill from Israel.* God commands he should be made an example, that the people may not be tempted to Rebellion; for in the 13 verse it is said, *All the people shall heare and feare, and doe no more presumptuously.* It is worth our notice that here *all the people* are mentioned; if they had agreed together to resist not a pretended, but a real false sentence, this conspiracy could not turne their sedition into a just warre, it could not take off the guilt of disobedience, though the multitude of offenders might hinder the punishment; *Populi salus, suprema lex*, had beene but a weake plea here.

This is urged onely to prove thus much, that all their arguments (which have greatest influence upon the peoples affections) drawne from inconveniencies by reason of the faults of Governours (under which the *Jewish* Commonwealth frequently suffered, as appears by the Prophets reprehensions) may as justly be made against the *Jewish* Government, of which God himselfe was the author. And that he forbade resistance to supream authority is plaine moreover, the first of *Joshua*, v. 18. *Whosoever he be that doth rebell against thy commandment, and will not hearken to thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: onely be strong and of a good courage.* Hence the weakenesse of that Sophistry (which hath caused these sad distractions) is evident. For they perswade the people, it were madnesse to make such a contract, which upon supposall of bad Governours would leave them without remedy, and therefore take it for certaine truth they made their bargain wiser. Whereas there is no ground for imputation of folly, for following Gods owne patterne, and yet if it were indiscretion, this doth not void the compact: They are bound to

be honest, though they were not wise; to plead they were fooles, will not licence them to be knaves.

Lex Regni, as it is called, 1 Sam. 10. 25. the fundamentall Law of Government, (of which a Monarchy is but a *species*) or the right of supream authority is most excellently described by Samuel, in the 1. Booke, 8. cap. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. verses. *This shall be the right of the King that shall reigne over you: He will take your sonnes and appoint them for himselfe, for his charrets, and to be his horsemen, and some shall runne before his charrets. And he will appoint him Captaines over thousands, and Captaines over fifties, and will set them to eare his ground, and to reape his harvest, and to make his instruments of warre, and instruments of his charrets. And he will take your daughters to be confestionaries, and to be cookes, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your olive-yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers and to his servants. And he will take your men servants, and your maid servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his worke. Hee will take the tenth of his sheepe, and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out in that day because of your King which ye shall have chosen you, and the Lord will not heare you in that day.* It is not lawfull for you to breake that yoke which ye put upon your selves, neither shall your teares prevaile with God to take it off your neckes: notwithstanding such afflictions were fore-told, their resolution is, to have a King over them, that they also may be like all the Nations, and that their King may judge them, and goe out before them, and fight their battailes. *Sit incommodum*, we acknowledge these are grievous inconveniences, (*nam quid ferè undique placet*, it is the fate of all governments, because managed by men, who may prove vitious, to be unavoidably subject to great calamities) *verùm illud comparavimus commodis*, we have weighed the advantages of being ruled by a King, and conceive the probable goods which are conveyed from Regall government, which are knowne by experience in other Nations, will over-

over-balance these accidentall evils, however we are resolved.) to venture it.

A misunderstanding this part of Scripture hath opened a way to two dangerous extreames, which are both false, and have produced unhappy consequences. From *hoc erit jui regis*, some conclude his will is his Law; and *quicquid libet, licet*; but this is clearly convinced in the 17 of *Deuteronomy*, where the duty of their King is described, from the 16 verse to the end of the chapter.

Others make it a bare prophesie of the tyrannicall abuse of power by the King which they should choose, (if so, the people had small reason to shout for joy at his Inauguration; and secondly, this was not fulfilled in *Saul*, for though he proved a Tyrant, yet not in all these particulars) and so they confound *jui* with *factum*. But it cannot be found in any author that ever *jui* was taken in this sense, *Mischpat* will not beare this signification. When Theeves take away mens goods or their lives, it might as properly be said, *hoc est jui Latronum*, this is the right which robbers have.

To finde out the true meaning, we must know, that this law was not given as a rule for him to command, but for the people to obey by; it did not excuse him from sinning, but disabled them from punishing him for his offences: and therefore it is said, when the solemnity of his Inauguration was ended, *Loquutus est Samuel ad populum legem regni*, he spake not to the King, but applyed himselfe to the people, and declared their duty. This was not what he ought to do, but what they ought to suffer, when a King swerved from that rule by which he was bound to governe. For his duty was well knowne, being laid downe many ages before by *Moses*, and written in the booke which *Moses* commanded the Levites to keepe in the side of the Arke of the Covenant, that it might be there for a testimony against transgressors: *Deut.* 31. 36. so that this bindes the people not to resist, though they are oppressed; wherefore the close of it is, since there is no helpe in man, they must onely cry unto, the Lord: 1 *Sam.* 10. 18. This signification is confirmed by the Civill Law, where we are informed, *jui prator reddit*,

The true sence
of *jui Regis* in
Samuel.

reddat, etiam cum inique discernit; the meaning of it is explained, relatione scilicet facta non ad id, quod ira prator fecit, sed ad illud quod pratorem facere convenit: L. jui plur. D. de just. & jur. And in this sense, summum jui is sometimes summa injuria.

It were happy for all States, if the people were fully instructed in this Text, and could distinguish *Potestatem imperii ab officio imperantis*, the right to governe, from government according to right. For the former is obligatory and stands in full force, though he be defective in the latter.

This middle way, *inter abruptam contumaciam, & deforme obsequium*, neither guilty of stubborn disobedience, or servile compliance, is very safe and honest. For it acknowledges he that hath supreme authority, is subject to some lawes (for it was truly said by *Harmenopolus*, *κατὰ βασιλέως ἐστὶν νόμος κρατύνειν τὰς νόμους*, and that of the Emperours is fit to be observed, *Digna vox est maiestate regnantis, legibus alligatum se principem profiteri. Adeo de auctoritate juris nostra pendet auctoritas: & revera majus imperio est, submittere legibus principatum. l. 4. c. de legibus.*) But he is not subject to any Judge upon earth, because he hath no superiour. This the *Gracians* called *ἐντεταλμένη ἀνυμνότητα* *ὄντα*, a government not accomptable to men; and they opposed *Βασιλεία* such a Monarchy *ἀρχὴν ἀντιδύον*, to such Rulers as were responsible: *Ambrose* expresses it by *non ulli ad pœnam vocari legibus, tunc imperii potestate*. The reason of these constitutions was grounded upon necessity, which enforced them to place an impunity somewhere, for avoiding confusion. For a circle in government would be infinitely absurd, and of pernicious consequences, when Rulers are placed over us, to challenge a right to rule those Rulers. The Poët very wisely was at a stand:

A necessity to grant impunity to some in all governments, to avoid confusion.

— Quis enim custodiet ipsos Custodes? —

But these men runne round till they are giddy, all the foundations of government being moved by them, and put out of course. Because they have not settled *τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρχῆς*, as *Galen* calls it, a supreme power, to whose sentence the last resort must be, and

and whose determination *jus facit*, that is, though it should swerve from the rule of Justice, yet it must have the effect of right; it is binding to all, they cannot call him to account for it, and make him responsible for the wrong. His authority is a guard to his person; and though he chance to doe some things not innocently, (for he ought to be guided by the lawes of honesty given to mankind, and to observe his oath and promises) yet he must doe all safely, because he cannot be punished by any Nationall Law. This impunity makes all resistance which may any way indanger his person unlawfull. *David* clearly determines the case. *Destroy him not*, saith he to *Abishai*, the reason of this *ne perdas* is now of full force, and tyes up the hands of inferiours in every State: *For who can stretch forth his hands against the Lords anointed, and be guiltlesse?* 1 Sam. 26. 9. The substance of this anointment, which makes their persons sacred, and not to be touched with violence, remains even where the Ceremony is not practised. For it is nothing else but *jus regnandi*, the right of supremacy, a true title to reigne over them; and therefore *Cyrus* a Heathen King is called Gods Anointed: *Es.* 45. 1. though the materiall ceremony of powring oyle upon him, was not in use amongst the *Persians*. It is a metaphoricall expression of supereminency, taken from that quality of oyle, which is, when it is mixed with other liquours, to be uppermost.

The Fathers unanimous glosse (which certainly ought to beare greater sway in our actions, then the authority of those men, not knowne to us, but as the causes of our misery) upon *Dauids* confession, *Against thee, thee onely have I sinned*; *Psal.* 51. 4. pleads for this impunity. Notwithstanding he had abused *Uriah's* wife, and contrived the death of so gallant a man, who forgot what was dearest to him next unto the Kings honour, and would not goe in unto his wife, untill the Kings enemies were destroyed; yet he saith, in the height of his humiliation, he had sinned against God onely, because there was no Tribunal amongst men to which he was responsible. Our Common Law seemes to expresse it selfe in the same sense, *le Roy ne fa tort*, the King can doe no wrong; Though we may

suffer undeservedly, yet no sense of injuries received can dispen-
 pence with the obligation of not righting our selves by force.

I have done with my proofes out of the Old Testament, and
 I desire my readers to weigh how much is concluded, lest they
 should thinke the application hollow, because all Kings have
 not the same rights which belonged to the Kings of *Israel*.

How much is
 concluded out
 of the old Te-
 stament: to the
 present case.

First therefore it hath beene shewed, to restrain this liberty
 of resistance, is a wise government, because of Gods owne in-
 stitution; and so that temptation which hath strong influence
 upon many, ought to cease; that it is folly to contract to be
 obedient in such a way, as may leave them without remedy for
 great grievances.

And secondly it is evidenced, that the same power which the
 Judges before, and the Kings of *Israel* after had, is in every
 State somewhere, that *jus consistens in impunitate delictorum*, a
 right of not being accomptable for their actions, which fences
 the person or persons in whom *suprema dominatio* is, and secures
 them (as strongly as Lawes can doe) from all violence, is either
 in one man (so alwayes in a Monarchy) or in a certaine body,
 whose power though abused, must give Law (in order to non-
 resistance) to all inferiours.

There is a possibility of suffering very great inconveniences,
 without any lawfull meanes of redresse: It is an unhappy con-
 dition we shall live in, if he or they should be Tyrants, and take
 delight in our oppression. But we cannot helpe it, God out
 of his dominion might thus dispose of our fortunes and lives,
 and he declares his pleasure so to doe, and therefore we must
 choose the least evill, which is, not to resist, and by endeavour-
 ing to save our goods or bodies, to loose our soules. Certainly
 if we were as truly religions as we would be thought to be, we
 have not any cause to be troubled, though these things should
 happen to us. If our patience in submission to his precept be
 chargeable, we make God our debtor; all the taxes and tributes
 are put upon his accompt, and he will returne them in as plen-
 tiffull measure, as if we had spent so much charitably, (and we
 cannot lay out our estate better.) The Magistrate is Gods re-
 ceiver, as well as the poore. He commands part of our reve-
 nues

No hard Law
 to require from
 us Non-resist-
 ance.

nues in him, in those he seemes to intreat : that is to pay debts, this comes nigher to a courtesie, and therefore we might better excuse our uncharitablenesse, then our resistance. But what if their cruelty extend to the farthest, and endeavour to take away our lives wrongfully ?

These are justly deare to men, and much is done to draw out a few yeares, (notwithstanding our comforts are interwoven with sorrowes, our feares are oftentimes above our hopes, most of our dayes are cloudy, and over-cast with melancholyes, and the discontents arising from our wants (which are as vast and unbounded as our desires to have) are much greater then the narrow pleasures of enjoyment, which is confined to a few things, the stroaking of fortune being not so delightfull, as her blowes are grievous :) but what value ought we then to set upon eternall life ? how highly ought we to prize those everlasting joyes, which still quicken, and still satisfie the appetite, and what should we not suffer, rather then forfeit these ? This is the present case, He that by resisting saves his life, (a doubtfull good, and of no long continuance) looses that happy being, which God hath promised to such as submit to his commands, and he that looses his life is a great gainer, he falls a Martyr of justice, and shall be raised a Saint into glory.

The same obedience which God required of the Jewes under the Law to be shewne to their Judges and Kings, and as high a degree of patience Christ injoynes his followers under the Gospell, towards the highest powers. And there is great reason wee should performe this duty more cheerefully, because our Saviour hath commended persecution to all those who will live godly, and that both by precept and example. His method was, *facere & docere*, he began to doe and teach ; and it is not much different in the end, *docere & pati*; to teach patience, and confirme his doctrine by his suffering: wee must take out the same lesson, for the promise is conditionall, *si uis uerum querere, si uis uerum sapere, si uis uerum agere, si uis uerum vivere, si uis uerum regnare, si uis uerum saluari, si uis uerum glorificari, si uis uerum uiuere, si uis uerum regnare, si uis uerum saluari, si uis uerum glorificari*, if we suffer with him, then (and not else) shall we also reigne with him, Rom. 8. 17. Rebellion in Christians is a most prodigious thing, wee having plaine and peremptory commands for obedience, and a certaine and ample requitall for all the charges of

The same duty
of Non-resistance
injoynd
by Christ in
the Gospells

our honesty. That Heroicall speech of *Socrates*, *ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνου
μὴν ἰσχύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δὲ οὐκ*, *It is in their power to kill me, it is not
in their power to hurt me*, carries in it the flame of true Religi-
on; the Apostle expresses it higher, *for us to die is gaine*,
Phil. 1. 21.

The Jewes
more excusa-
ble in case of
rebellion.

The Jewes wanted not some colours of reason to justifie their impatience in this case; for it was a strong temptation not to be willing to be cut off, when their blessings were temporal, the chiefe of them being length of dayes, and upon which all the rest depended, and must necessarily end with their lives. And yet they submitted to those Lawes, which entrusted their fortunes, and being in the hands of the supream Magistrate, *Ios. 1. 18.* This power in succeeding times was often abused to their destruction, and they gave themselves up to the slaughter, upon hopes not grounded in any set promise, but only in the free goodnesse of God, whom they thought to be a better master, then to let any man be the worse for doing him service.

Christians have
not any colour
for it.

But a Christian cannot have any shadow of scruple. *S^t. Peter* failing in this duty by resisting the Magistrate in defence of his innocent Master, hath taken speciall care not to be imitated, and therefore informes us largely with the full extent of Christian patience. I will first lay downe the grounds for which our Saviour reprehended him, and I desire they may be seriously pondered by such as are more inexcusably faultie, and then I shall take his precepts into consideration. Much may be alledged in *Peters* justification, and yet all will not excuse him, *Put up thy sword againe into his place*, sayes Christ; if he do not, he threatens the punishment of murder to him, *all they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword*, *Matth. 26. 52.* It concerns them sadly to apply, who pretend resistance, but are really invaders, and therefore cannot make so faire a plea. First, it was a sodaine and unexpected assault, no means of escape did appeare. Secondly, their violence armed with Swords and with Staves as against a thiefe, did evidently aime at the life of his Master; and he might not without reason suspect his owne in danger. Thirdly, he kept the lawes of that which is called

inculpara

inculpata tuzela, innocent defence; he did it in the instant, not after deliberation, when he might have thought of other wayes of safetie, and he had no advantage of Weapon, and he did not kill outright, but only wounded a servant. Notwithstanding all this he is rebuked by Christ, who makes satisfaction for his offence by a miracle. And the sense of this correction made so deep an impression, that he after warned others of their duty, when they suffer in the like persecution. *Let none of you suffer as a murderer, &c. yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorifie God on this behalfe. For the time is come, that judgment must begin at the house of God. Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their soules to him in well doing, as unto a faithfull creator, 1 Pet. 4.* Though this might serve turne, yet he speakes more home in another place, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as supream, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evill doers, and for the praise of them that doe well. For so is the will of God, that with well doing, you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. As free, and not using your liberty for a cloake of maliciousnesse, but as the servants of God, &c. Feare God, honour the King. Servants be subject to your Masters with all feare, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience towards God, indure grieve, suffering wrongfully. For even hereto were you called. Because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that yee should follow his steps who did not sinne, neither was guile found in his mouth, 1 Pet. 2.*

The case of resistance is here inforced as highly as favourable circumstances can raise it, and when the most plausible limitations are put in, yet it is concluded unlawfull; we must submit as Christ did, though we should be as innocent as he was, and though *vires non deessent*, wee were sure to make good our opposition; for he could have summoned an army of Angels in his defence: wee are bound to submit not only to justice, but to injuries also, and to be obedient as to good and gentle masters,

The case of resistance inforced with greatest advantages, yet condemned.

so likewise to the *froward*, to *bad* as well as *good* Kings, their failing of their duty, not licencing us not to performe ours, nor dispensing with our loyalty. This is evident, because the reasons annexed equally inforce this duty in Subjects as in Servants. Though liberty be our birthright, yet it must not be made the cloake of sin, it takes not off those bonds with which God hath tyed up our hands from fighting against the supream power. No lifting up private swords against the sword of justice, ours against Gods weapon, *Deus resistet*, wee shall have an ill match of it.

It is well worth our observation, that though the Apostles maine worke was heaven, yet they are very sollicitous to settle our quiet upon earth, by enforcing obedience unto government. Saint *Paul* delivers the mind of God most fully, most plainly. He could not have expressed the duty of Subjects more punctually, if he had lived in these last and worst times, wherein his doctrine seems a kind of tame folly; as once much learning, now much Religion hath made him mad. Our Saviours prophecy is fullfilled, of faith failing amongst men, they thinke it unreasonable, to be bound to submit to certaine present evils, out of hopes of future good, and to be abused by bad Magistrates, upon expectation to be righted hereafter; & charity waxeth cold, it must no longer be ranked amongst Christian duties to preferre publique good to private interest, the peace of the Church, and tranquillity of the State to our owne profit or safety. No, *we must stand fast in the libertie, wherewith Christ hath made us free*. We are not so indiscreet to submit to any triall by law, because we may meet with corrupt Judges; *patrocinium peccati, multitudo peccantium*, our number ought to make us safer then innocence can them; it is madnesse to be hanged, when we are more then those that should hang us; we may call our selves the commonwealth (for this is some where, and the lesser part hath lesse reason to challenge it to themselves) and then *Populi salus, Suprema lex*, what ever conduces to our safety, becomes law to the Kingdome. If any malignant and ill affected persons object the breach of knowne lawes by us, we must tell them they are abrogated by equity, because

if they should stand in force, they would destroy us. The truth is, these men antedate that prophecy of Christ (as they have done many besides) *He shall put downe all rule, and all authority, and power.* 1 Cor. 15. 24.

This is clearely done by their practise, Kings are dishonored in the feare of God, and I neede not say *quid verba audio, cum facta videam*, for their profest principles maintaine it. If they are not of the true religion, that is, make not the peoples opinion their Creed, or if they do not governe to the advantage of the Saints, that is, joyne not with them in those designs which they christen *Gods glory*, and *the great worke*, the *pious Reformation*, then because they are no longer *Dei ministri in bonum*, Gods ministers for their good, they are *ipso facto* discharged of their Magistracy; not Gods holy ones, but their owne vices have deposed them, and *ignia* their lawfull authority is not opposed by them, but their persons only, they fight against the man, and not the Magistrate. This is the doctrine which hath produced such miserable things in the Christian world, to the ruine of many States, and what is more lamentable, the destruction of millions of soules. For upon those grounds many have beene induced to fight against God, and perished in their sin, and too many are so farre scandalized at it, that they suspect the truth of Christianity, concluding within themselves, that if we did really beleeeve that Gospell, which we outwardly professe, and if we were perswaded those precepts laid downe by the Doctor of the Gentiles, ought to be the measure of our practise (for he injoyne subjection though to tyrants, for such were the Roman Emperours then, and the Kings in those times *Reges gentium dominantur earum*) the most wicked Magistrates, and those that tooke greatest delight in cruelty and oppression, will sooner be weary in doing injuries, then we could be in suffering.

Let every soule be subject unto the higher powers] *mon* *¶* *¶* *¶* all Paraphrase upon part of the
are included, not any one can plead exemption, we may say with the Apostle, only he is excepted to whom every soule is
subject. If every member should be commanded to be obedient to the head, they could not lawfully oppose upon joynt consent,
13 to the Rom.

sent, and ground their excuse upon a metaphisicall abstraction of the body from those of whom it is compounded. The reason is because the action of the body is constituted of the particular acts of each member, the joyning of so many personall acts makes up the act of the civill body, and if it be a fault in any one, it doth not take of the guilt, that he sins in comfort and offends with companie. This notion of universall speculatively distinguished from singulars is so farre from changing the morall nature of actions, that the act of the body (which is created by law, and civilly compleated by the consent of a major part) may be sin, and yet many members, as the lesser part who do not contribute their votes, shall be innocent, because men are accomptable only for their personall deeds.

[*Exortation*] Let every one be subject, keepe under, in due rank and order. Now seeing that in all order there must be some first, all others must submit to this, and this *non potest in ordinem cogi, ab aliquo*, cannot be legally ordered by any, because there is not any upon earth, *prior primo*, before the first, and higher then the supream. If he breake his order, he is responible to him only that is above him, who is God.

*Regum timendorum in proprios grades,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis.*

These highest powers *ὁ θεὸς πάντα διοικεῖ*. God is *super deos*, and orders them as he pleases. So that the wronged people must onely cry unto the Lord, as the Jewes were directed in their hard condition: And Saint Ambrosse is sensible of this obligation, *repugnare non novi; dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere, &c. aliter nec debeo nec possum resistere*. Least Christians should be more stiff-necked then the Jewes, who bore this heavy yoke, Saint Peter prescribes their behaviour and tells them it is a part of their calling (and unlesse they performe their vocation, they cannot make their election sure) to imitate Christ thus farre, *who when he was reviled, reviled not againe*, no dishonorable speeches, no reproachfull language from him, which yet falls short of the meditated malice of the pen, *when he suffered he threatened not*, no killing and slaying so much as in words, and no people can have greater innocence, and no Governour greater

greater faults, but *he committed himselfe to him that judgeth righteously.* 1. Pet. 2.

Εξουσιαι κατωχουσ [unto the higher powers] Hereout they endeavour to picke some advantage. for, say they, by the same Logicque, as we conclude impunity due to Kings, and to all resistance unlawfull, we must be forced to enlarge this priviledge, and communicate it to all Magistrates whatsoever, because they are higher powers also. But this immunity is overlarge by our owne confession, as repugnant to all States, and therefore seeing we cannot justifie the inference in its full latitude, we cannot reasonably collect any thing. These men strangely mistake the grounds of our deduction, their strong fancy against it, not permitting them to take the reason of it into due consideration, we confesse thus much is concluded for all Magistrates (such are they to whom the King delegates his authority) that it is not lawfull for any that are under them to make resistance; as a private man may not oppose a Constable, nor a Constable a Justice of peace, nor he a Judge; So common Souldiers cannot punish a Lieutenant (except by vertue of a Commission from the Generall, and then they are above him, as being made Magistrates to execute martiall law upon him) nor he a Colonell, nor a Colonell the Generall, they being but private men in reference to one above them; and so Kings in Monarchies (and proportionably in Aristocracies those persons, in whom the supream power is placed, which are the major part consenting) are not judicially accomptable to any, because they are the highest. Thus much Scripture evinces, the civill law confirms, reason suggests, and the practise of all States hath imbraced it.

Lawfull to resist inferiour Magistrates if they oppose the supream.

[For there is no power but of God] Here is the cause of obedience rendred, this right to governe, is not onely by his bare permission, so theft and murder are, but it is his constitution, and by vertue of this, the Apostle collecteth that honour is due to their persons. I have proved formerly that such power could not be, *ei uis est deus*, unlesse it were of God; the people could not dispense with divine precept, *non occides*, thou shalt not kill.

The powers that be, are τταρχαι, ordained or ordered of God. This is his ordinary providence by which he hath thought fit to

governe the world, and we must submit to it, till he declare his will to the contrary; nothing can take off this obligation but expresse revelation. And we have some new Enthusiasts, who are going on to this height of fury; Methinkes it should startle all good men, to see some interpretations of obscure prophecies out of *Daniell* and the *Apocalypse* cast out to justify the breach of plaine duties.

Whoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; Here is faire warning, take heed what ye do, you have a terrible enemy to encounter with, it is *Θεοκρατία*, a fight against God, You cannot flatter your selves with a prosperous issue, for those *which resist shall receive to themselves damnation.*

Against that distinction of the authority from the person.

Lest any should be so miserably besotted with a senselesse distinction (as it is misapplied by them) of the authority from the person, as to incur the danger of this fearfull commination, he joynes them together and uses them promiscuously, and in the prosecution inforces that, by mentioning the persons, which before he had attributed to the powers. Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation; it immediately follows, *For rulers are not to be feared, but to good works, but to the evil.* Then he comes to the authority againe, wilt thou not be afraid of the power? doe that which is good and thou shalt have praise of the same; *For he is the Minister of God to thee for good,* there he concludes with the person.

Observe with what vehemence he repeates this duty, though fully delivered before, as if his mind misgave him concerning these rebellious times. *Wherefore you must needs be subject.* A necessity is laid upon us, and woe unto us, if we be not subject: we have two powerfull motives, *not onely for wrath, but also for conscience sake.* As for feare what the Prince may (for rebellion seldom prospers; Traitors are unfortunate gamesters, though they win at first, they are most commonly terrible losers in the close) to what God will inflict. You have his word for it, you are *damn'd* if you resist.

Though Rebels should get the start by seizing his ammunition, Forts, and Ships, and you have cause to thinke your loyalty will

will disadvantage you, when a King is in fight too weak; yet be wary what you doe, God oft times raises up strength to him, beyond mans expectation, and the event shewes, those which continue honest are most truly wise. The heads of the rebellion shall be brought to condigne punishment, and their memory be odious amongst all good men. *Tis true, to be subject to present plunder is a strong temptation against duty (yet upon a generall survey ye shall find they take not much more from their enemies, then they force their freinds to give; they have no great reason to brag of being saviors, it hath cost them very round summes to loose their soules) But yee see how much the King indulges to this feare (I know not whether God will pardon so easily, for if feare of loosing by being honest be a good excuse for neglect of duty, hopes of gaining by playing the knaves, may as reasonably be pleaded) so unwilling is he any should suffer for his sake. How often hath he beene pleased graciously to forgive, upon that easy excuse, they did not dare to be his freinds; that is, they were his enemies not out of spite and malice, but onely for their owne advantage; and he is content, not any should loose for him. O let not his goodnes move you to have a hand or purse in the evils which are brought upon him and the whole land. Betray not your bad tempers so farre, that it should appeare you will do more for feare then love, lest your base natures may induce hereafter a stricter government, when experience doth demonstrate the worst masters have the best servants. Let not his lenity, which doth deserve to find friends, be the onely cause he hath so many enemies. If I must direct my speech as unto cowards (for you have no excuse for disloyalty, but your feares) consider with your selves, how God hath blessed his servant with three potent and successfull Armies (all of them raised with such disadvantages, as they clearly speake an immediate providence giving testimony to the sincerity of his many sacred protestations) beside many hopefull Seminaries in divers Countries, and thousands of gallant Gentlemen, and brave spirits in other Shires, now unfortunately situated (*O tristi damnata loco*) who wait for an opportunity to revenge their tame suffering hitherto,

God is to be reckoned of the Kings side, who will overbalance their great forces.

to, and the unworthy usage from fellow Subjects. If notwithstanding all this you could unreasonably flatter your selves with being the stronger side, yet you have juster and greater feares elsewhere, which ought to give Law to your cowardise, which hath betrayed your allegiance. For what would it profit you, if you should save your houses from being plunder'd (though this is the most probable way to hazard your estates, which are forfeited to the King, cannot be elcheated to them) and loose your soules, for which the whole world is but a bale price? There is evident danger in fighting against the King, but the Apostle threatens certaine destruction because you fight against your owne consciences.

Their severall exceptions and corrupt glosses by which they endeavour to avoyd this plaine obligation of non resistance, I shall meet with in the fourth section.

The duty not
to resist proved
further by the
practise of the
more innocent
ages of the
Church.

The practise of primitive christians is a faithfull commentary upon these texts. And certainly their authority, (who witness to their owne disadvantage, teaching submission though to tyrants, under which they cheerefully suffered according to Christs example) ought to prevaile with us above any moderne writers, who have broached a doctrine (very seasonable for some places and occasions, but unknowne to those innocent times, when Christianity thrived upon suffering, and gained as much by patience, as it is likely to loose by stubbornnesse) that it is lawfull for inferior Magistrates, say some, (and this from the fundamentalls of government;) for the people, others, tells us, (and this from the law of nature) to right themselves by force, if the supreme Magistrate deny so to do it, and so faile of that trust, which was committed to him for the good of others. These principles lately taken up open a faire way for advancement of private ends, by disturbance of publique peace, either upon reall (which oft times are) or at least pretended faults in governours which shall never be wanting, whilst there are ambitious men who want preferment, and desire to have what others are possesst of, and make it a reasonable cause, to endeavour innovation, because they may be bettered by the change. In what an unhappy State do we live, if such a number (upon pretence we
are

are not so well governed as we might be, that is, they have not so great a share in the government, as they could wish for, and since the greater part can never be satisfied, we cannot hope for peace and quiet) shall be enabled to force the King to recede from lawes and in the roome of those knowne and standing rules, to give us uncertaine temporary ordinances.

The Emperours were for the most part very bad, but especially to the Christians they were hard masters. Though the Romans counted it the highest gallantry, to shake off the yoke when it galled them, and did oft rebell in the cause of liberty; (and it is a sad thing that this pagan bravery should be preferred to the tameness which Christ injoyed to his followers; of all good actions the murder of a tyrant is most commendable, sayes one. Euseb. Philad. dial. 2. And Buchanan thinks it a defect in policy, that rewards are not allotted for such meritorious deeds) yet the Christians could never be tempted by their greatest sufferings to joyne in any conspiracy. Tertullian professes their innocency, and he is to be looked upon in this case, not as a single witness, but as one that wrote in the name of all; his Apologetique is the sence of the whole Church. We may be confident of the truth, because it was a matter of fact, and we have no reason to suspect he could be so vainly impudent as to present that in their justification, which must be evidently convinced of falsehood. He makes a bold challenge, and desires them to produce if they can one example of any Christian taking part with rebels. Such as *Cassius, Niger, Albinus, Cleander, Elms Letus*, the *Pretorian souldiers* (who murdered *Peritax*) *Stephanus*, and *Parthenius* were. It is manifest these were not traitours out of wantonness, there were just grounds for heavy complaints under *Domitian, Commodus* and *Septimius Severus*, all bloody tyrants. Yet the Christians were better catechised, then to thinke resistance lawfull, when they were oppressed by those whose duty it was to have protected them. Their unanimous confession is, *nos iudicium Dei suspicimus in imperatoribus, qui gentibus illos praefecit*. I shall give you the sence of it at large. We kisse the hands which wound us; though they have not any cause to doe such things, yet there is

too much cause why we should suffer them, we must acknowledge our sinns towards God, and he may punish them in what way he thinks fit. We cannot deny, but we have deserved great afflictions, and shall we, who are guilty be stubborn, when patience is required, though we were most innocent? The example of Christ is made our law, and in him no sin was found. We cannot suffer more, nor boast lesse demerit. If we did seriously consider it, we could not hate the worst governors, for we have no reason to be angry, because they do things to our advantage, and certaine it is, if we submit with patience, their sinns further our salvation, their faults encrease our glory. What pittie is it, they should goe to Hell, for that which procures us a higher place in heaven? Nay what uncharitableness is it in us, to cut them off in their sin, and so send them thither? And it is a sad meditation, to think that we shall follow; because we could not indure their company here, we take a course to live together eternally miserable.

Cyprian inforces this meeknesse with excellent reason. God (saith he to *Demetrian*) is the revenger of his injur'd servants: in which this argument is implied, Vengeance belongs unto the Lord, and except we can produce his Commission, our private iustice will damne us; *animam in vulnere*, in our enemies wounds our soules will bleed to death: 'tis madnesse to strike, when we are certaine the blow will recoyle to our eternall destruction. Therefore the Apostle commands, as we wish well to our selves, to *recompence to no man evil for evil: Rom. 12. 17.* Selfe-love is the motive why we should not hurt others. He exhorts by the naturall affection which is due to our selves, not to *avenge our selves*, *ut iustus castigaret*, but rather to give place unto wrath: *v. 19.* The wisdom of God hath introduced an excellent temper in government, and such as the sence of great evils prevailed with men to esteeme very good, and confirme it by their lawes. *Honorius* and *Theodosius* tell us, *iudiciorum vigor, jurisque publici tutela videtur in medio constituta, ne quisquam sibi ipsi permittere valeat ultionem.* That of *Claudian* is true in this sence also:

Qui finitur pœnâ, ferus est.

Private revenge
unlawfull.

Injur'd

Injur'd men are over-passionate, and easily tempted to cruelty.

*Amplius ex ira quod enim se quisque volebat
Ulcisci, quam nunc permissum est legibus aequis,
Iccirco est homines pertasum vi colere avum.*

Upon these considerations God hath made revenge unlawfull, and beside this obligation of divine precept, our hands are tyed up as strongly as faith of promise can do it. This Covenant knits society, and cements the civill body. Though we do not onely fancy grievances (as the world is full of such mistakes) though we are really injured, yet it becomes injustice to right our selves. All the accompt we can give at Gods Tribunall, is onely this, we did not sinne first. And this plea will afford miserable comfort to be damn'd after another. That none might be tempted to strike, because others hands are bound up from returning the blow, God hath appointed a middle way to deterre men from doing evill, for feare of suffering it in as high a degree. For *Tertullian* sayes true, *disciplina interest, injuriam vindicari. Metu enim ultionis omnis iniquitas refranatur.* The fountaine of our actions is the opinion we have of the good or bad, we shall receive by them; if they appeare certainly hurtfull, and that we shall suffer by so doing, we most commonly forbear, I doe not say alwayes, because the will may thwart the understanding, else it were not free, and experience sheweth, that sometimes a lesse good present, doth overweigh a future, though certaine greater evill. God will judge our cause, and revenge us upon wrong doers; but he performs this not immediately, but by his Magistrates. He delegates his authority to them, and *Saint Paul* proclaimes their Commission in these words, *There is no power but of God. Quicquid per officarios facit, per se facere videtur*, what they doe are legally his acts, we have no right to reverse them by a strong hand. If an inferiour Magistrate gives false judgement, God grants a liberty of appeal to him in a higher Magistrate, if he confirme the former unjust sentence, it is lawfull to proceed by way of appeale, till we come to the highest; but then because God hath appointed a peaceable end of controversies, we must sit downe with the present losse, being fully assured God will judge this Judge;

Judge; we shall have another day of hearing in Heaven, and all damages shall be amply repaid. If we did beleve this, our unnaturall divisions would cease, that is, if we were truly Christians, we would not doe as we have done, we could not resist the highest power. I have warrant to say it, *Here is the patience and faith of the Saints: Rev. 13. 10.* they beleaved, therefore they suffer'd.

Upon such considerations *Cyprian* grounds the duty, and shewes the practice of the Primitive Christians was very consonant. *Inde est quod nemo nostrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur: nec se adversus injustam violentiam vestram, quamvis nimis & copiosus noster sit populus, ulciscitur.* For this cause not any one of us doth make resistance when you apprehend him, nor revenge your unjust violence: *Patientes facit de securitate ultione securitas.* God is able to reward our patience, and to requite all our sufferings. If we tooke delight in the misery of our persecutors, we might be abundantly comforted. But alas we pitty them, and grieve more for their deplorable condition, then our owne torments. God will avenge our innocent blood more severely, then any good man can wish for. *Tertullian* expresses the same in his eloquent manner. *Satis idoneum patientia sequester Deus est.* Our goods are not taken away, they are sequestred for our benefit, and intrusted in safe hands, God keeps them for our use and will returne them with ample increase. *Si injuriam deposueris penes eum, ultor est,* if you will not fight, he will undertake your quarrell, and you need not doubt but your enemies will be soundly worsted; *Si dolorem, medicus est,* your wounds shall save you, *Si mortem, resuscitator est,* if you fall a Martyr, you shall rise a Saint. *Quantum patientia licet, ut Deum habeat debitorem?* what cannot our sufferings doe! they make even God our debtor; he owes us heaven for our selves, and he owes us Hell for our enemies, but we breath out our soules in prayer, that he may be intreated not to pay this.

The Example of the *Thebane* Legion commands our imitation in the like cause. It is one of the noblest passages in all the ecclesiasticall story, wherein Christianity did shine forth in its full lustre, and it affords plentiful light for our direction. This band

band consisted of almost 7000 men, all Christians. When the Emperour *Maximian* commands the whole Army to offer Sacrifice to false Gods, they remove their quarters, that they might avoid if it were possible this occasion of discontenting the Emperour. He summons them to performe their parts in this devilish worship. They are forced to returne an humble deniall, and their resolution not to disobey God, for whose sake they had ever beene and would continue faithfull servants to him. The Emperour unsatisfied with this answer, puts them to a decimation; They submit with much cheerefulnesse, and dy praying for their murderer. After this sad spectacle his commands are renewed, but prevaile nothing upon the remainder. Wherefore they also are butchered without the least resistance; There was no delay in their death, except from the wearinesse of the executioners. This was truly to confesse him, who was led as a sheepe to the slaughter, and like a lambe opened not his mouth, and they a flocke of his fold, were quietly devoured by ravening wolves. The Commander of this Regiment, *Maurice* could not containe his joy, when he had seene the first decimation gallantly suffered. How fearefull was I, sayes he to his surviving souldiers, (for armed men may be tempted to defend themselves) lest any of them upon colour of just resistance for selfe preservation in an innocent cause, should have strugled against this blessed slaughter. I was watchfull, and had Christs example in readinesse, who commanded his disciple to put his sword into his scabberd. *Salus vestra non periclitabitur, nisi vestris armis*, if you use not your weapons, I have Gods owne warrant for your safety.

Despaire it selfe could not conquer one single patience, which yet creates valour in cowards, and makes them more courageous in such extremities, because they are fearefull; Since they are likely to endeavour most to preserve life; who are most terrified with death.

It would be more wearisome to me, then delightfull, or profitable to the Reader, to inlarge my proofes by that plenty of authorities, which offer themselves in the ancient Fathers and many Councils. The truth is, the labour is needlesse, their practise

is so evident, that the greatest friends to Rebellion, will not betray so much ignorance as to deny it. They are forced to grant that they doe such things, as those great lights of the Church, those holy men, though infinitely more oppressed then they can pretend to, durst not venture on. Thus farre we both agree. But why durst not? Here they shew themselves; not because to resist Tyrants would have beene a wicked, but a vaine attempt; *vires deerant*, they were not able to go through with a Rebellion; what the Heathens admired as *extraordinary goodnesse* (many of them being converted by this religious confidence, reasonably concluding, men that approved themselves very prudent in all other matters, could not be guilty of such madnesse as to die thus, unless they had good hopes to be recompenced in another life) these fomenters of strife call *weakenesse*, to the unspeakable scandall of such as have a true sense of godlinesse. It is an insufferable blemish to their innocence, and stains the pretious memory of those blessed Martyrs. If this were indeed true, that they wanted not *will*, but *power* to destroy, we can hardly blame their persecutors, who thought it wisdome to prevent the blow by striking first: it seemed but killing the Cockatrice in the egge; they had small encouragement to cherish frozen Serpents in their bosome, who when they had recovered warmth and strength, would dart their poysonous sting at their preservers. Certainly they had an extraordinary confidence they should prevaile, else they would never so openly have discovered such principles, and instructed States to provide better for their security hereafter, by utter disabling them to do any hurt. These men cry out against *Papery*, and yet professe what all good *Protestants* esteeme the most malignant part of *Jesuitisme*. If this evasion will not hold, they know not what to say for themselves, and it may clearly be convinced of falshood. For this very objection is made by the Ancients, and answered to our hands by themselves. So carefull were they that posterity might not mistake their *goodnesse*, and thinke it nothing else but an *impotency* to do evill. The Fathers speeches, which witnesse sufficient strength, if religion had not tyed their hands, cannot be imputed to any over-reaching,

Not want of
strength the
cause of their
patience.

reaching or lying to gaine reputation to their sufferings (as Mr Goodwin insinuates in his Anticaval. and we shall anon take notice of it) our enemies would be extreamely glad to see their owne art thus credited. But we have no reason to conceive them so impudent, and we may be certaine, they were not so mad, as to face downe the Emperour, and their other potent adversaries (who would make great advantage of their so manifest untruths) by affirming what they must evidently discern false, and could not choose but see the contrary.

Cyprian saith expressely, *Quamvis nimis & copiosus noster sit populus*, though we have competent forces more then enough to do the businesse, yet we wrestle not with our oppressors &c. The *Theban Legion* was in a posture of resistance, but they durst not lift up thole hands into which the Emperour had put weapons, against his personall commands, though most unjust, most bloody. six thousand six hundred, and sixty six men of such extraordinary valour, as did not entertaine the least feare of death might probably have conquered (and this cruelty might have increased their party by the defection of male-contents) but they must certainly have made some sport for their lives, they could not have wanted that comfort, which to some taste is beyond the pleasure of life, to die revenged. Besides had not the Emperour and his under princes known them true Christians, and beene acquainted with the tameness of that profession, towards the highest power, he would never have hazarded a rebellion by making so considerable an army desperate.

I will conclude this with Tertullian, who argues very handsomely, after he had spoken to this fence; we are so numerous you can hardly see one another for Christians, *cui, inquit, bello non idonei, non prompti fuissetis, etiam impares copiis, quidam libenter trucidamur?* Though we had not the advantage of number, Which yet you perceive we have, *numeri damnum virtus pensaret*, courage would supply this defect, and though fewer, since we contemne our owne lives, we might be masters of yours. We could undoe you, not if we should rebell, but if we would be idle; we do not fright you so much, as to desire

H a

you,

you, to fancy us fighting against you, you were lost if we did not fight for you. What would become of you, if we should turne *Separatists*? *Sit tanta vis hominum*, if such multitudes as we are should breake out from amongst you into any corner of the world, your Empire would sinke for want of strength to support it. Your Cities would seeme deserts without us &c: in that thin remainder you would have many enemies, though but few men. Even now they would rebell, if they were not awed *multitudine Christianorum, pane omnium civium*, by those multitudes of us, who are of some ranke, almost all of us citizens, and almost all the citizens are of us. Our example invites some to obedience, others feare our readinesse to be commanded to reduce them to due subjection. In *Apologetico*. I may adde his other speech in the same place, *vestra omnia implevimus*, we have filled your Cities, nay *castra ipsa*, your very camps would be empty without us Christians. It is not possible to bring in more expresse, more clear testimonies in any matter; it is too probable, such as have made a search, are blinded with interest, and shut their eyes that they may not see this truth. I know not how to excule *Bellarmino, Alane, Ficlernus, Simancha, Buchanan, Hottoman, Knox, Brutus*, for these were scholars; and therefore not so likely to be deceived themselves in such an easie truth, as upon designe to deceive others. But I have a more charitable opinion of most of those men, with whom we have to deale, though some have discovered plenty of malice, yet they are very few, of whom we can say, *ad everrendam rempublicam sobrii accesserunt*. Some are *Enthusiasts*, and mistake their owne fancy for the Spirit, and the greater part do this mischeife out of ignorance, drawing out of broken cisterns, the seditious writings of the *Roman* and the *Reformed Jesuites*, and transcribing one another, and so are taught and teach to despise dominion, and speake evill of those things which they know not.

I Make no question the proposition is now evident, that the supreme power in any State (let it be where it will, somewhere it must be, for else it were an Anarchy, and no government) ought not to be resisted. This makes rebellion sin, as transgressing divine and humane lawes. In the next place, for the perfect direction of conscience, wee must examine, in whom the supreme power is placed; a mistake in this is as dangerous, as an error in the former. For as zeale, which is not according to knowledge, is impiety; for though it have the heat, it hath not the light, which is required to true devotion; so the most scrupulous obedience is but humble rebellion, if it be misplaced, and yielded to fellow Subjects against him who hath *jus regnandi*, the right to command them. Thus in an Aristocracy to aide one man against the Senate, is Treason against the State, and in a Monarchy (because the constitution is different, and places the supreme power in one) to aide the Senate (of which that one is the head, and opposed to him, they are but a livelesse trunk in order to those things to which his influence is necessary, *Forseſcue* warrants the expression, *sine capite communitas non corporatur*) against the Monarch and supreme Ruler, is rebellion and treason against the State. The Assumption therefore shall be,

Most necessary
to know the
subject of Su-
premacy.

The King of ENGLAND hath this supreme power.] when this is proved, the conscience must take law from this necessary Inference, therefore it is unlawfull for Subjects to hold up armes against the King of *England*: Because as it is an absurdity in speculation, so it is sinne in practice to deny the conclusion; there they offend against Logique, here against Religion also. For whatsoever is not of faith, that is, not of judgment, whatsoever wee doe against our owne reason, and the light of conscience, is transgression.

The matter of this discourse is of high concernment. For as things now stand, on it hang Heaven or Hell, our salvation or eternall damnation. If the King be the highest power, you are

bound to submit to him, but if you have new Sovereignes, if your fellow Subjects are become the Lords anoynted, there may be some colour of justification. Except this be proved, you are altogether inexcusable, as appeares in the last Section, and therefore it will behoove you to hearken to *Solomons* advice; *My sonne feare thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change. For their calamity shall rise so dainely, Prov. 24. 21, 22.*

The Kings Supremacy witnessed by our Oath

Certainly unconcerned men will thinke I have undertaken no very difficult taske. If I can but perswade the Kings adversaries, they have not forsworne themselves, I shall recover them to due obedience (but I must tell them, if they were not perjur'd in taking the Oath of Supremacy (not to mention now that of Allegiance) they are so in breaking it) The words are so expresse, that not any colourable glosse can be invented, to excuse the violation of this solemne Sacrament. *I, A. B. do utterly testifie and declare in my conscience, that the Kings highnesse is the only supreame Governour of this Realme, and of all other His Highnesse Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall things, or causes, as Temporall, &c. I do promise that from henceforth, I shall beare faith and true allegiance to the Kings Highnesse, His Heires, and lawfull Successours, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, priviledges, preheminences, and authorities granted or belonging to the Kings Highnesse, His Heires, and Successours, or united and annexed to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme.*

So helpe me God and by the Contents of this Booke.] It hath beene replied, That this Oath is taken in opposition to the Pope, to exclude the Supremacy usnrped by him for many yeares. They speake truth, but not all the truth; for there are two parts in it. One negative, by which wee professe, that not any forraigne State, or Potentate, nor the Pope hath this power. The other positive, by which the Subject of this power is specified. *The Kings Highnesse is the onely supreame Governour of this Realme,* as in all Spirituall things, and causes, so likewise Temporall. Both Ecclesiasticall and Civill supremacy are here asserted to be in the King. It was not thought sufficient to tell who was not Supreame,

Supreme, but they declare also who was. When we had truly sworn the Pope out of this Kingdome, what necessity was there to make the people perjur'd? for certainly they forswore themselves, who solemnly testifie and declare in their conscience, That *the Kings highnesse is the onely supreme Governour*, if the meaning of those words be onely this, that the Pope is not. It concernes us as highly as our Soules are worth, *reddere juramentum domino*, to performe unto the Lord our Oath, and not to lift up those hands against the King, which were layd upon the holy Gospell, in witness of our submission to him *as the onely supreme Governour*. What desperate malice is it to expose our Soules to every Musket shot? if wee fall, we perish eternally. This sad contemplation, that wee stand on the very brinke of Hell, ready to be turned into the Lake of everlasting woes, by every sword, every bullet, will smite our hearts. and make our armes feeble in the day of battaile; what confusion & amazement and horror of conscience must needs seize upon all considering men? Think upon the heinousnesse of parricide to murder a Father is a sin greater then any one is able to beare: But to spill the blood of our Sovereigne (which they have done, who fought against him, for it is murderin Gods sight; his goodnesse in protecting his servant, doth not excuse their sin in endeavouring to destroy their King) whom God commands not to touch, and whose life we have sworn to defend *with the utmost hazard of our owne*, and we have desired the Lord to revenge it in our destruction, if we doe otherwise, is of a much deeper dye. For the King is *Pater patriæ*, a common Father to all without a Metaphor: what ever power Fathers had *over*, and consequently whatsoever honour as an effect of this power, was due to them *from* their children, he hath right to challenge the same of all. And though we should joyne together, and call our selves the Common-wealrh, we can no more lawfully dis-respect, give law to, resist upon hard usage, or say he is lesse honourable then all we, then children by agreement may dispense with their duty to their parents. It was our owne act which united all particular paternall powers in Him, and that these are truly transferred, and now really in Him is

King hath paternal powers
from consent
of the people.

very evident, because else we should be bound to obey our Fathers commands, before those of the King. For divine precept stands in full force, *Honour thy Father, &c.* and therefore we must confesse, *tam pater nemo est in terris*, he that begot us is not so much our Father, as the King is. It may be fit to take notice here, that the supreme power of a State, hath by our particular deeds and common agreement, as much right over, not single persons onely, but the whole body, as every Father had over not this or that child onely, but his whole family: and as he cannot be said, though *major singulis natus*, yet *tot à prole minor*, so neither a King (if this power be placed in one, which is essentiall to a Monarchy) *minor universis*.

He hath power
of a higher na-
ture from Gods
grant.

Though a Monarch hath greater right, and larger power, then even all the people could bestow upon him, for he hath *potestatem vita & necis*, and this Fathers have not now over their children, over themselves; it can only come from him who hath dominion over his creatures, and therefore the people must looke upon him, not only as their *owne*, but as *Gods representative*; yet to say nothing of this, and to deale liberally with our adversaries, by supposing (though I cannot grant) their principles true, concerning the originall of power being in the people, I can demonstrably convince them, by most plaine and evident deductions from their owne scheame.

I tooke this method in my *Answer to the Observations*, that by joyning issue upon their owne grounds, I might put a quicker end to the debate. It would have required more time to shew at large, *The Kings power was from God* (which was proved in brieft, and there, as is this discourse, it is acknowledged to be restrained by His own or His Progenitors grants, *potest enim Rex vim regni minuire*) and so of much higher nature then the contribution of popular Votes could raise it to: it was abundantly sufficient, to prove that *the people have not any legal power against the King*. The former is built upon this pillar, *nemo dat, quod non habet*; the power of the Magistrate was not in the people considered severally, and before civill society, and in such a State, as the *Aborigenes* are described by *Salust*, *genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, libe-*

rum atque solutum, a multitude, not a nation, and certaine wild
 rones, without Laws, without Empire, free to doe or suffer wrong,
 and loose from all positive obligations. Not any one having *iur*
gladii, a right to take away the life of man, it followes they
 could not bestow it upon another, for what is not, cannot be
 alienated. And therefore the supream Magistrate hath more
 power then the whole people, and is *vice Dem.* Gods vicege-
 rent. Let them take heed how they call Gods minister the peoples
Servant; God hath taken especiall care the Magistrate should
 be honoured; and respect is due, as to his, not their creature.

The latter, that the people have not any legall power a-
 gainst the King, is as firmly supported by another pillar, *uemo*
habet, quod dedit. Suppose the originall of power in the peo-
 ple, or as they love to speake, suppose them the efficient cause
 of power, which cannot be but by giving to one man in a Mo-
 narchy, to a Senate in an Aristocracy, a right to use their divided
 strengths. Since therefore they cannot retaine, what they have
 parted with, nor have what they gave away, he which hath all
 their power (I may adde his owne particular besides) must needs be
 greater and more powerfull then they. The truth is, he is (in a Mo-
 narchy, and they are in an Aristocracy) the only fountaine of all
 power and justice. Answer to the Observat, pag. 10. This is as
 certaine, as that there are some governments besides Demo-
 cracy, for it is essentiall to them: what is that which makes
 Anarchy, except this, that every man hath right to doe what
 he will, in reference to any nationall Law? The only meanes to
 avoyd this confusion, is to resigne up this hurtfull liberty;
 (which is very prudently done upon choice, but necessarily up-
 on conquest) if it be given to one, wee call that State, Monar-
 chy; if to few, wee call it Optimacy; if to very many, who
 rule by turnes and are elected by the people, wee call it Demo-
 cracy. There cannot be any other ground to difference the
 formes of Regiment.

Demonstration
 from the diffe-
 rence of formes
 of Regiment.

Hence appears the weaknesse of those discourses, which
 have no other strength, then the impossibility, that the people
 can make one greater and more powerfull then all they (which
 is understood not of their naturall, (this cannot be past away

to another) but politique strength, that is the right of using their power, this may be, and is parted with, (except the Government be a Democracy) because *Quicquid efficit tale, est magis tale*. The reply to the *Answer to the Observations*, confesses my argument, concluding, *if it were true that the people had parted with their power, pag. 6.* upon this the determination of the whole controversie depends, and that it was rightly stated by me, will evidently appeare, because unlesse the people have resigned up their power. the Author can never shew how this State is a Monarchy. It doth not alter the case, that the King hath restrained himselfe from the use of this power to some purposes without their consent, as for making new lawes or raising money; for this limitation only makes such acts illegal, but doth not returne any power into them, whereby they may be inabled to raise an Army, or to oppose the *Militia* of the Kingdome against him, to compell him by strong hand to governe according to law. If the subject of this power be the people, who may meet together and lawfully determine (for though he resolve all into the two Houses, yet if he follow the consequences of his owne principle, he must goe thus high) what they fancy conducing to their own safety, wee are cleerly false back into Anarchy. To avoid this confusion, the Author places it in their representatives, but it will come to the same thing by undeniable deductions from his owne grounds. For the same arguments which are made against the King, equally conclude against the two Houses; since *Quicquid efficit tale, est magis tale*, and that they are intrusted for the common good, may be equally applyed to them, and then King and Lords and Commons are Voted away at the pleasure of the multitude.

Arguments
brought against
the King, con-
clude as much
for the people
against the Par-
liament.

The summe of his Book is, that *the people retain their power, and therefore may make resistance, in case he governe not according to law, and he is responsible for such breaches*; The prooffe is, *He is intrusted for their good, and there is a mutuall covenant betweene King and people, and this violated by him dissolves the compact.*

I have in this discourse punctually examined these and what farther

farther grounds of scruples I could finde in the replyer, as will appeare more fully in the following Section. Being to answer so many, I would not trespasse upon the Readers patience by an exact view of his particular mistakes, which might have beene confuted with great ease; but with no great advantage to the cause, to which I have spoken more closely, and as fully as I was able.

I will discover to him one desperate consequence from his principle, which it concernes him to blush and repent for. *There is a mutuall Covenant betweene King and People, and the breach of it dissolves the compact*: if so, his Crowne is forfeited, and he ceases to be King *de jure* upon such violation, which he is now charged with, (because they could not have any colour for taking up Armes, but upon this pretence.) Therefore the plaine conclusion is, it is no want of duty in them, though they depose him, for it is no injury to take away, what he can challenge no right to; his claime was by vertue of compact, which is dissolved by his not standing to conditions, and so the bargain is unmade, the bonds of allegiance are broken asunder. The Houses have laboured to cleare themselves from this wicked doctrine, by telling us the deposition of the second *Edward*, and *Richard* was not to be numbered amongst the presidents of Parliament, and that no free Parliament ever attempted the like: and yet a private man dares publish such manifest Treason. I am perswaded that the Author, supposing a breach of covenant of His Majesties part, and then telling us such a breach dissolves the compact, was not fully apprehensive that this pernicious principle unkins his Sovereigne. When he sees his treasonable error, he will finde that Logick ill managed is a more dangerous weapon, then a sword in the hands of mad men.

To returne to further proofes of the Kings supremacy; That which makes a State one, is the union of supreme power, and this according as it is placed in one or more persons, gives denomination to the forme: so that all those Acts of Parliament which confesse this a Monarchy, are so many solid testimonies of the Kings supremacy. Kings supremacy further proved.

The Answer is, *Though this be demonstrably true in an absolute*

lute Empire, yet it concludes not in a mixt Monarchy.

The true meaning of that which is called a mixt Monarchy.

I am very confident a mistake of this *mixt Monarchy* hath engaged many well-meaning men against the King, to the overthrow of our Lawes, which the simpler part are perswaded they fight for; *Honestà voluntate rebelles sunt*, there are some who contribute their forces to destroy this Kingdome in behalfe of the Common-wealth, and they are so farre deceived, as to be made unhappy instruments to advance private interests with publique hearts. And therefore it will be necessary to discover their *error*, by which their unfortunate Country hath suffer'd as much, as by the *faults* of others.

They have not any shadow of excuse to countenance their Rebellion from this distinction, unlesse *mixt Monarchy* doe signifie either that the people in their diffusive body, or by their representatives have a greater, or at least an equall power with the King. The reason of which is, because inferiours by the acknowledgement of all, have not any jurisdiction over superiours: and equals though they have not *imperium*, right to governe, yet if injur'd and they require satisfaction, and upon denyall of it, attempt to compasse it by force, they are esteemed by the Law of Reason and Nations, *just enemies*: whereas Subjects, if they make warre upon their Sovereigne, though when wronged, are worthily accompted Rebels. First, the diffusive body of the people hath not greater, nay, not equall power with the King, because they have not any legall way of expressing themselves. Our Lawes determine it Treason to enter into any association, or raise a Warre without the Kings consent, and much more against his expresse commands. Secondly, the representative body hath not greater nor equall power with the King. The same argument overthrowes their claime, for the people cannot authorize them to doe, beyond what themselves were enabled to, therefore if actions of this nature were unwarrantable in the diffusive body, they are so in the representative. It may be not unfit to observe that the representative body is the *people* onely to some ends and purposes, whereto they were intrusted by them according to Law, and therefore no illegall ordinances, (such as all those are, which the King denies.

Representative Body is not the People to all purposes.

denyes to ratifie) ought to be called the Acts of the people : They are no more concerned in it, then if they should take upon them contrary to Law, to stampe and coyne money with the inscription of *Senatus, populusque Anglicanus*, or to send Ambassadors, or denounce warre against, or enter into a League of friendship with forreigne Princes, or bestow the great offices of State, or dispose of Wardships, or take to themselves a power to raise Armes without His Majesties consent. Again, because they represent the people but to some purposes onely, though their principles were firme, (as they are extremely weake) that the King is lesse then His Subjects *conjunctim*, and that they collectively are more honourable then He, &c. yet they bring not the conclusion home to the two Houses. Because it doth not appeare, and they had no reason to take it for granted, that the two Houses (which they call the Parliament) are the people in this consideration. A Jury is the representative people, (as experience teaches, and we may finde it in Sir Thomas Smith, l. 2. c. 26. The legall answer to that interrogatory, *How will you be tryed*, is, *Dei populi que judicio*, by God and my Country; and the Clerke of the Sizes replies, *Ecce tibi hi probi viri populum representant*) and the Sophistry would be easily discovered, if we should argue they are therefore more honourable, then the King. We may take notice also, that their arguments are onely capable of concluding for the House of Commons, (and if they follow the necessary consequences of them, they must maintaine the Lower is above the Upper House) for the Lords sit onely in personall capacities, being inabled thereto by the prudence of our Lawes, which thought it reasonable they should have as great a share in the government as a negative voyce came to, because they enjoyed such ample revenues, that they were likely not to agree to any thing prejudiciall to the present settled State.

I shall prove more fully in the next Section, that those who represent Subjects (and that but to some purposes, and not the King to any, for this would overthrow that fundamentall constitution of three distinct Estates) cannot be equal to, much lesse above their Sovereigne. And that groundlesse invention

which denyes subordination, and introduces an unheard of coordination, such as creates *Regnum in Regno*, and rents this Country into distinct Kingdomes, shall be refused.

Since what is called *mixt Monarchy* cannot give such a right as is pleaded for, that Subjects should be free to wage warre against their Prince, because this liberty makes two independent States, which are not compatible in one body, but would be as really distinct Kingdomes in *England*, as *Spaine* and *France* are; I will endeavour to declare the true meaning thereof. If we speake properly, there cannot be such a thing as *mixtum Imperium*, a mixt Monarchy, or mixt Aristocracy, or mixt Democracy. Because, if there are divers supream powers, it is no longer one State. If the supream power be but one (that is that authority unto which *Le dernier ressort de la justice*, the last appeale must be made, and against whose sentence though unjust, we have not any legall remedy) this must be placed either in one man, who is the fountaine of all jurisdiction, and then it is a Monarchicall government, or in some Nobles, and then the Regiment is Aristocraticall, and the sentence of the major part of them becomes Law to all effects, whether concerning our goods or lives; or if the civill constitutions of a State direct us to appeale to the people, this is an absolute and true Democracy. By a *mixt Monarchy* therefore (not to quarrell about words) nothing but this can reasonably be understood, that it is not *πυβανθεia*, or *πυβελος κυραρχια*, wherein the will of the Prince publicly made knowne gives the Law, *Quodcumque Principi placet, legis habet vigorem*, but *βανθεia xpa vbuov*, a government not arbitrary, but restrained by positive constitutions, wherein a Prince hath limited himselfe by promise or oath, not to exercise full power. This grant is of force, because any man may either totally resigne, or diminish his rights by Covenant. Hence it is that in Monarchies all Kings have supream power, though they have not all the same *jura Regalia*, their prerogatives are larger or narrower according to their particular grants. For example, our Kings have retained to themselves the rights of coyning money, making great officers, bestowing honours, as Dukedomes, Baronies, Knighthoods, &c. pardoning all offences

fences against the Crowne, making warre and peace, sending Ambassadors to negotiate with forraigne States, &c. and they have restrained themselves from the use of that power which makes new Lawes and repeales old, without the consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; as likewise from raising money upon the Subject without their consent.

Some doe aske, *How are we the better, if we must suffer him to breake this Covenant as oft as he pleases? it is the same thing not to have any Lawes, and not to have provision for the observance of them.*

First, I must tell you, this objection is answered by shewing there is a necessity that some body must be trusted. It is no discretion to prevent a possible mischief by probable inconveniences; if you will not trust one you must trust more, that is, if you are weary of Monarchy (under which your forefathers enjoyed happy times, and experience cannot cozen you, though arguments may) you know the way to cast it off by placing so many guardians over your Prince, but have you any greater assurance then before? *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* They have as great temptations to faile their trust as he had, and it is likely being warned by such a president of deserting your naturall Prince, they may feare your inconstancy, and upon pretence, that you are subject to mistake; and because they suspect you may be *willing*, they will take such order, you shall not be able to call them to an accompt. But suppose this may not be, and that those who suppress Tyrants (or perhaps excellent Kings under that name) may not be frightened with their owne example, to make use of their present power, to exercise a greater tyranny; for it is not impossible they should grow *jealous* too, and tell you plainly, they have no reason to *trust* you. If you deny them money, here is ground of diffidence, your designe is to expose them to poverty, so to contempt, so to ruine. But suppose I say nothing of this, but that they will be secure amidst your jealousies, which manifestly endanger their safety; yet you will be forced at last to trust the giddy multitude, who are alwayes weary of the present government, because there are still some unavoidable defects, and these are discerned by sense,

Difference betweene arbitrary rule and government, restrained by Law, notwithstanding hostile resistance unlawfull, though in case of violation.

sense, and they have not such depth of understanding as to foresee greater mischiefs (which can onely be judged of by reason) and therefore are easily perswaded to attempt a change, so that your peace is built upon a very weake foundation; you have no better security against a civill warre, then that the greater part of the people will be discreet. If things prosper not according to their wishes, crafty men perswade them the fault lyes in those who have the managery of the publike, and if these be not removed, and honest and wise men (meaning themselves) put in their places, their miseries will daily grow upon them. A generall accusation of ill affected, malignant persons, wicked Counsellors, is cause sufficient to out their supposed enemies of all preferments, and put their pretended friends in their roomes. This opens a gap to all confusion; civill warre, and most unnaturall distractions are the certaine issue of it. Our owne lamentable experience confirms this sad truth. After you had obtained a perfect confirmation of all your ancient rights and liberties, with a gracious enlargement of them by new grants, and with such security as your fore-fathers were not acquainted with, you are frighted with the possibility of a relapse. To prevent which, it was thought fit to take away the Kings power, with which our Lawes had invested him, as the necessary meanes for our protection, because it was not impossible he might use it for our oppression. Accordingly the Kings Navy, His Forts, Magazines, and the Armes of the Kingdome, are put into such as you would call safe hands. I doe not aske with what conscience, but with what judgement you did this? The want of prudence was as great as that of honesty, what hath beene the successe of confiding in those whom the Lawes had not intrusted? are not your sufferings infinitely multiplyed? are you not extreamely sicke of your remedy? The tables are quite turned, and your friends have undertaken the same bad game, and play it much worse; you onely make the stakes, and are in a probable way to loose all that you have. What one thing did you complaine of, which is not exceeded by them? your grievances are highly improved,

ved; *Magna Charta* and the Petition of Right are now malignant, they speake not the sense of the House, but take part with the King. To quote our good and ancient Lawes is interpreted a breach of Priviledges of Parliament; appeales are made to the people, the ready way to a universall confusion. And they according to private information, and mis-guided affections, did once passe this sentence, that to imprison without cause alleadged, and to deny *Habeas corpus's*, is no intrenchment upon the liberty of the Subject; to bestow mens estates by whole sale, and take away their Money, Plate, or Goods, doth not destroy the property of the Subject; To scorne and revile the Booke of Common Prayer, against an Act of Parliament, which severely punishes such contempt, and to supplant our established doctrine and discipline by countenancing Anabaptisme and Brownisme, conduces to the holy Reformation, and will in time effect that great worke, and settle true Religion. Thus much by the way, to shew that we cannot have any absolute security; in all governments it is necessary to trust some body. For if we should retaine a liberty to right our selves (not to mention the fatall mischiefes of Anarchy, and that it is probable this freedome would be frequently abused to our wrong, selfe-love making men partiall in their owne causes) the decision of controversies would be writ in blood, and we should lay a fruitfull seed-plot of civill warres, contrary to the end of society, which is to preserve publique peace, though sometimes with private losse; because though we suffer some things by injustice, yet we enjoy great benefits by common tranquillity, but in the ruine of the whole, the rights of single persons must be destroyed. The hazard likewise appeares much greater, by inabling those to injure us, whom the Law hath not intrusted with our protection.

To answer their objection fully, who would perswade the people, there is not any difference betweene arbitrary government, and government restrained by lawes, if Subjects may not compell their soveraigne to the observation of them.

Greater security would undoe us. For though wee suffer

sometimes under reall greivances, yet pretended breaches of our rights (which can never be wanting, as long as ambitious persons are discontented) would have the same influence to stirre up civill dissentions, and it is a more prudent course, to oblige some to sit downe though wronged, then to open a certaine way for Schisme in the body by indulging a most pernicious freedome of righting themselves. It was wisely said by *Seneca satius est a paucis etiam justam excusationem non accipi, quam ab omnibus aliquam tentari*. For Kingdomes are many times disturbed upon meere pretences. There are such who will set their country on fire, only to warme their owne hands by it, and trouble the waters, that they may the better catch fish, that is, who will pursue private interests with hazard of publicke destruction. He that doubts this, let him consult histories, and he shall find, it hath bene fatall to the best Princes to have the worst Subjects. I appeale to mens consciences whether they have not read, and perhaps scene, the reigne of a most gracious Prince, a Prince eminently mercifull, and just, branded with the odious name of Tyranny. And when malice it selfe cannot blemish his actions, when he is not so bad as they could pray for, (for they would have made great advantages, if they could charge him with personall vices, as unchast, intemperate, or negligent in performance of religious duties) yet craft hath done their businesse, and abused the peoples weaknesse so farr, as to make them active in their owne ruine, by that wicked Art of declaiming against evill counsellours. Of such dangerous consequence is it, to open a way to civill warre upon pretended miscarriages in government! But grant, not fancied, but reall injuries, Yet

--- *non tanti est civilia bella moveri.*

It is true, the people are then not so happy as they might be, but to make use of force, as a remedy, will encrease their miseries. It is certaine, this Kingdome never suffered so highly under the greatest tyrant, as it hath already by this unnaturall warre, and who can tell, whither it may not end in a universall destruction. If a King be forced to conquer against his will, who knows how farre he may be tempted beyond his naturall disposition.

disposition. It is a melancholly consideration, that a peoples perversenesse may change a gentle Scepter into a rod of iron. But if Subjects prevaile, we can see no end of the warre. Forraigne nations will be powred upon this unhappy land, & there will never be wanting at home a considerable party (as long as there are either honest or discontented men) to fight for the regaining his hereditary rights, to keepe whom in awe, our fellow Subjects will plead a necessity of being tyrants (I could wish it were not already acted upon us; first their will made necessity, and then necessity makes their will the measure of right and wrong, and destroyes all law) their wants will give law to us, and imprison us upon bare suspicion of Loyalty, and seize on our estates for feare they may be honestly employed.

Thus we see a necessity of trust, and that we are bound not only in conscience, but in prudence also, not to revenge the non performance of it, I can further make it appeare, we have very good security (as strong as humane wisdom ever invented) that we shall live happily, and therefore we have no reason to robbe our selves of those great blessings which we lately enjoyed, peace and plenty, upon vaine feares and groundlesse jealousies of imaginary miseries. Our forefathers did not distrust the sound temper of this policy, and they enjoyed the benefits of it in a high degree.

First, the King hath sworne to preserve our Lawes, our Liberties, our Propriety, and our Religion; and he desires God so to prosper him and his, as he performes this Oath unto the Lord, who will require a severe accompt. Wee may make a highly probable conjecture of the sincerity of his royall heart, and the unfeignednesse of his many sacred Protestations from his miraculous successe. If God had not fought on his side, if the immediate hand of providence had not supported him, in mans judgment he had bene swallowed up.

Secondly, if he should command any illegall things, the executioners of them are responsable, and must make satisfaction to the injur'd parties. And they cannot flatter themselves with hopes of impunity, for once in three yeares a Parliament will call them to accompt, and they have a great Democraticall ad-

vantage for the obtaining justice. Because the Kings wants cannot be supplied without their consent, and it is very unlikely he will deny any reasonable petitions, or reject any desires but such as robbe him of his honour, which is infinitely deare to him above plenty; except they endeavour to make him worse then poore. (which cannot be by demanding justice) it is most probable he will readily assent.

Thirdly, His interests are the same with the Subjects. They are not like two buckets, when one is lowest, the other is highest, but they resemble the Head and rest of the Members, and the Head cannot thrive by a consumption of the Members. Illegall gainings from the people are shifts rather then true policy; they may serve a present turne, yet are not worth the price at which they are purchased, envy and discontents; whereas the gratitude of the Subject is a constant and cheerefull patrimony. When the King, like the Sunne, in consideration of what is drawne up from them, shall returne it in plentifull shewres, and the blessings of a just government, which makes a Land fruitfull.

Upon these grounds wee have very good reason to promise to our selves a happy government; our hopes are much above our feares, especially after his greater experience of the unfortunate consequences of some miscarriages, and the strange blessings upon his strict observation of the certaine and knowne Lawes.

They that require fuller information in the nature of this government, may finde ample satisfaction in *Stawnsford, Dyer, Crompton, and Sir Edward Coke*, That the King is the fountain of all justice, and consequently that the Lawes have placed the supream power in the Crowne. I have chosen rather to shew it out of *Bracton*, a man worthily famous for his knowledge in the Civill and Common Law, because the booke is lesse common, and I finde his authority often abused to justifie their cause. *Sciendum, quod ipse dominus Rex, qui ordinariam habet jurisdictionem & dignitatem & potestatem super omnes qui in regno suo sunt, habet enim omnia jura in manu sua, quae ad coronam & laicalem pertinent potestatem, & materialism gladium* qui

King's Supremacy proved out of *Bracton*.

qui pertinet ad regni gubernaculum. Habet etiam iustitiam & iudicium, qua sunt iurisdictiones, ut ex iurisdictione sua, sicut Dei minister & Vicarius tribuat unicuique quod suum fuerit. Habet enim ea qua sunt pacis, ut populus sibi traditus in pace si-
leat & quiescat, & ne quis alterum verberet, vulneret, vel male tractet, ne quis alienam rem per vim & roberiam auferat vel asportet, ne quis hominem mahemiet vel occidat. Habet etiam coercionem ut delinquentes puniat & coerceat. Item habet in potestate sua leges & constitutiones, assisas in regno suo provisas, & approbatas, & iuratas, ipse in propria persona sua observet & subditis suis faciat observari, nihil enim prodest iura con-
dere, nisi sit qui iuratuatur. Habet igitur Rex huiusmodi iura sive iurisdictiones in manu sua lib. 2. cap. 24. §. 1. And againe, ea qua iurisdictionis sunt & pacis, & ea qua sunt iustitie & paci annexa, ad nullum pertinent nisi ad coronam, & dignita-
tem regiam, nec à corona separari poterunt cum faciant ipsam coronam. The english of it in briefe is this. The King hath su-
preame power in all civill causes, and is *super omnes*, over all persons, over the body politique; all iurisdctions are in him; the materiall sword of right belongs to him, and whatsoever conduces to peace, that the people committed to his charge may lead peaceable and quiet lives. The power of holding As-
sises is derived from him, and of punishing delinquents. For Laws were vainly enacted, if there were not some body enabled to protect us by defending them, &c.

These conclusions are naturally deduced from his premises. To dispose the *Militia* of the Kingdome without the consent of the Sovereigne (and much more against his expresse prohibition) is illegall. To issue Commissions by any other authority then his, for killing and slaying, or taking mens estates by force, is against the known Lawes: and to forbid the holding of Assises (upon whatever pretence of advancing the Subjects property, by stopping the course of Justice,) is destructive of the rights both of King and Subjects.

He defines the Sword, lib. 1. cap. 8. §. 4. lest Subjects should thinke it lawfull to take it up in their owne defence without his authority, *significat defensionem regni & patrie*, it

is the right to defend the Kingdome. *Populi salus*, the safety of the people (the pretence of which hath ingaged them in a likely way of ruine) cannot dispense with our Lawes, which have enabled onely him to protect them. It is not possible to speake more home then he hath done in the fifth Paragraph. *Omnis quidem sub rege, & ipse sub nullo nisi tantum sub Deo. Parem autem non habet in regno suo, quia sic amitteret praeceptum, cum par in parem non habeat imperium. Item nec multo fortius superiorem nec potentiorē habere debet, quia sic esset inferior sibi subiectis, & inferiores pares esse non possunt potentioribus. Ipse autem Rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo & sub lege, quia lex facit regem.* All are under the King, and the King is under God only. He hath no equall in his Realme, (*no coordination here*) because then he could not command all, for amongst equalls there can be no Empire. Therefore much lesse are any his superiours, or can challenge greater power, because then he would be under his Subjects, &c. The King ought not to be under man. He is under God and the Law, because the Law makes him King.

The last words (though advantage be made of them, and *Fortescue* is quoted to the same purpose) can afford no just ground of scruple; for he explains himself within a few lines. *Lex facit regem*, signifies no more then that of the Roman Emperours, *Adeo de autoritate juris nostra pendet autoritas. l. digna, c. de legib.* The meaning may be extended thus farre. That the people had a hand in the conveyance of their divided rights into him, and he may now challenge them by vertue of their owne agreement, and by divine right also, but as presupposing this consent; because God doth not immediately dispose of Kingdomes now, and conquest signifies greater force not juster title; that oft times gives possession, and a subsequent compact creates a true right. I doe not deny, but that conquest in some cases may be a lawfull way of acquisition; the provocation may be so great, that persons and estates are forfeited to the victor; but because the will is not capable of being forced, it doth not follow, he hath got a right over their goods and bodies, therefore they are His Subjects, and owe to him

him obedience. For to be subject, being a morall bond, where God doth not lay upon us any obligation, (as the duty of children towards their Parents doth not depend upon choice) it can only flow from our consent. But this consent of the people was not an adequate cause, but a necessary qualification to make him capable of receiving a larger commission from God. The Sword of Justice is blunt, the peoples agreement could not put an edge upon it to cut off offenders, this is done by the Magistrate, as Gods delegate.

That the King is *sub lege*, under the law, hath this sense, That he ought to governe according to those standing rules. His Majesty freely confesses this obligation, and since experience hath taught him the benefits of strict observance, he will not be intreated upon what plausible pretences soever (and much lesse will he be commanded) to recede from their known and certaine direction. But if he should swerve from these rules, he is not liable to any punishment, nor compellible by strong hand; not for want of sinne, for he offends highly in that case, but for want of a superiour jurisdiction. *Bracton* delivers this truth plainly, wee have no legall remedy, wee can onely humbly petition His sacred Majesty, *locus erit supplicationi, quòd factum suum corrigat & emendet; quòd quidem si non fecerit, satis sufficit ei ad poenam, quòd dominum expectet ultorem. Nemo quidem de factis suis prasumat disputare, multo fortius contra factum suum venire.* If he will not hearken to our just and reasonable desires, *satis sufficit*, his punishment is more then enough, for he must render an accompt to him that judgeth righteously. Let not men presume to question his deeds; much lesse to undoe by force, what he shall doe though not according to right. That you may not thinke this dropt from him unwarily, he repeates it in other places, and *lib. 5. tract. 2. de defaultu, cap. 3. §. 3.* He puts the case. That the King should doe injury, and a plea is brought against him, in whose behalfe he did it; the King being petitioned and persisting, and he rules it thus. *Quo casu cum dominus Rex super hoc fuerit interpellatus, in eadem persistit voluntate, quòd velit tenentem esse defensum cum injuria, cum teneatur justitiam totis viribus defensare, ex-*
tunc

tunc erit injuria ipsius domini regis, nec poterit ei necessitatem aliquam imponere, quod illam corrigat & emendet nisi velit, cum superiorem non habeat nisi Deum, & satis erit illi pro pena quod Deum expectet ultorem. If the King who is bound to administer justice to his utmost power, will not recall the wrong he did upon a false suggestion, in this case, he injures his Subjects, but no body can force him to doe right, because he hath supreme power; he hath no superior but God only, and it is sufficient that wee shall have a day of hearing hereafter at a just tribunall, where he shall be punished for doing wrong, and we amply requited for our patient suffering. In lib. 2. cap. 16. §. 3. he attributes the highest authority to the King of England. If the place be rightly understood, by a wise Chancellor of this Land, whose collections from thence I shall lay downe, you may finde them in his case of the *Postnati*, pag. 107, 108. *De chartis regis & factis regum non debent nec possunt Justiciarii nec privata persona disputare; nec etiam si in illa dubitatio oriatur, possunt eam interpretari, & in dubiis & obscuris, vel si aliqua dictio duos contineat intellectus, domini regis erit expectanda interpretatio & voluntas, cum ejus sit interpretari, cuius est concedere.* The sense is, that all cases omitted, cases not determined for want of foresight are in the King: so that it gives not power to him to make new or abrogate old Lawes without consent in Parliament, but the right of interpretation belongs to him, not in plaine and evident cases (for these need no declarer; to challenge a right to declare all Lawes, were in effect to make them, and then all the Subjects rights would be in their breasts, and depend upon arbitrary votes) but only in new questions and doubts which must not be resolved contrary to old Law. By this it appears that Subjects ought not to judge of the equitable part of Law, and to overthrow the literall sense at pleasure, to the prejudice of their Sovereigne. Our King hath as much right by our constitutions, as that civill Law gave the Roman Emperours, *Inter aequitatem juri q̄ interpositam interpretationem nobis solis et licet et oportet inspicere. l. i. c. de leg. et consit.* or that other *Rex solus judicat de causa a jure non definita.*

Notwithstanding such expresse testimonies of the Kings supremacy,

premacie, yet such is the ignorance of some (these transcribing only, and onely varying the method of treason in their seditious pamphlets, as appears by that remarkable error borrowed out of the *observations* of *Richard the second, being misled by Spencer*; which I have met with in many of their libells) and such is the malice of others, who have searched the place in *Bracton* by them quoted, that his authority is cited against the King almost in all their Pamphlets which either speake Latine, or pretend to knowledge in the Lawes.

The author of the *fuller answer to Doctor Ferne* tells us, *the two Houses collected considered in a joint body, are not Subjects, p. 4.* And *Bracton* he sayes, will beare him out in it. *Rex habet superiorem, Deum scilicet, item legem per quam factus est Rex, item Curiam suā, viz. Comites, Barones, &c.* The King hath above him besides God the Law, whereby he is made King, likewise his Court of Earles, and Barons, &c. This man hath betrayed either want of knowledge, or want of honesty; I suspect the latter, because he must needs understand, that this was a very unfit proove of coordination between the three Estates (upon the strength of which his whole discourse hangs, and it is meerely begg'd) for this concludes against it, and makes a most absurd subordination of the Sovereign to such a number of his Subjects, and therefore he confesseth, *hee need not goe so high.* The adding, &c. as he hath above him his Court of Earles and Barons, and so forth, doth discover their unfaithfull dealing. For first, here is not the least mention of the House of *Commons* (which they would seeme to imply) and therefore it cannot serve their turne. and secondly the words following (craftily left out) shew the absurdity of it, the reason of the speech is, *quia Comites dicuntur quasi socii Regi, et qui habet socium, habet magistrum, & ideo si Rex fuerit sine frano. i. e. sine lege, debent ei frantum ponere nisi ipsimet fuerint cum Rege sine frano.* (Because Earles are quasi fellows to the King (I may perhaps render the meaning by calling them his Peeres) and he that hath a fellow (or a Peere) hath a Master. And therefore if the King will indulge himselfe a loosnesse from all Lawes, they ought to impose those bonds upon him, except they also will cast off obedience to established Lawes. Then, he sayes, no farther remedy is left but crying to the Lord, and the Lord will returne this answer. *Locutio super*

super eos gentem robustam & longinquam qua destruet eos &c. by the way he does not say that Subjects shall call in a forraigne Nation, that is treason, But the Lord will bring them in, because they would not judge their people righteously.

The distinct answer to it is, that *Bracton* layes not this downe as Law, but when he had taught the quite contrary, *Omnis quidem sub eo & ipse sub nullo, sed sub Deo tantum, and non habet parem, and sufficit ad panam, quod Dominum expectet ultorem.* He puts this speech into the mouth of a man discontented at the abuse of regall power, and arguing from the practise of that Age wherein he wrote, for the Rebellious Barons seized on the *Militia* of the Kingdome, which of right appertained to *Hen.* third. as *Bracton* clearly delivers himselfe, *ea qua sunt iusticie & paci annexa ad nullum pertinent nisi ad coronam, nec a corona separari poterunt.* That he speaks it in the person of another appears from hence; that he begins it with *dicere poteris quis.* some body may say *The King hath done Justice, and it is well;* and why hath he not the same liberty to censure him if he doe iniustice, and accordingly to require him to performe his dutie, lest he fall into the hands of the living God? He proceeds immediately to *Rex autem habet superiorem, &c.*

Kings supremacy proved from the nature of all his Subjects tenures.

It would be very easy, for one better read in our Lawes, then I am, to shew that the King of *England* hath supream right, from the nature of all Subjects lands holden of him in fee; which though it gives a perpetuall estate, yet not absolute, but conditionall, for it depends upon the acknowledgement of superiority and is forfeitable upon a not performance of some duties, and therefore it returnes unto him. For the breach of Fidelity is losse of Fee, as appeares in *Duarenuus, Wesembeckius, Farinaccius, Molina, Socinus, Gail,* and they tell us that all Lawyers agree, that all *Fenda* are lost by rebellion; as also by our common Law, which according to the nature of the trespassse, varies the forfeiture. In case of Treason, as taking up Armes against the King, (for so you may find it determined 25. *Edw.* 3. c. 2.) after legall conviction all their lands and tenements are absolutely in the Kings disposall; in case of felony, the King hath a yeare, a day and the wast, after which it passeth downe to the heires. It is
very

very evident, that the King onely hath that high degree of property in his lands which Lawyers call *alodium* or *alodinum*. The sense is the same though the words differ; for it is not material, whether with *Budem* we derive it from the privative particle (*a*) and *Landum*, which signifies, nomination, so that it denotes *predium cuius nullus antior est nisi Deus*: to hold in his owne full right, without any service, any payment of rent, because from God onely, or like to those of *Heinault*, who acknowledge no tenure but from God and the Sunne, *Pays de Hainault tenu de dieu & du soleil*. or else we may derive it from the same privative particle (*a*) and the Saxon *Leod*, or the French *leud* (a vassall or leigeman) and then it exprestes thus much, a tenement without vassallage, *without burden*, to which our English *Loade* retaines some resemblance.

But Subjects of what degree or condition soever hold their lands *ut feuda*, in the nature of *Fee*, which implies Fealty to a superiour. It is all one whether they belong to them by inheritance, or by purchase; for though they may sometimes be dearly bought, yet such is the condition of the alienation, that they cannot be conveyed without those burdens which were layed upon him who had *novell Fee*. So that *Camden* pag. 93. of his *Britannia*, observes very truly, that the King only hath *directum dominium*, this being reserved by the conquerour, who changed many of our lawes, and introduced the customes of Normandy, and instituted all our pleas in French, and passed over the *utile dominium* only; he gave though not absolute yet perpetuall right, conditions being performed to use and enjoy such and such lands. The highest expression of a Subjects right which law will justify, is this, *seisitus inde in dominico suo, ut de feudo*. He is seized of such lands in his demaine, as of fee. Now *Feudum* is manifestly a derived right, and founded in him who hath supream right, in consideration whereof all lands held by Subjects are burdened with some services, which differ according to the variety of grant from the King. Hence some tenures expire with life, others goe downe to our posterity by discent, to whom the law gives *usum fructum*, a right to use, injoy and make all profits, but they are properly but *mesu* or *mesme*

Lords, as holding of an *over Lord*, or *Lord paramount*, who is the *King*.

Leige Lord
bound to some
duties,

but not under
paine of forfei-
ture, as *Leige*
men are.

The Kings supremacy is as strongly proved in, that he is our *Leige Lord*, as appeares by sundry Statutes, for such an one can acknowledge no superiour, as *Duarenus* shewes in comment, *de consuetudin. feudorum. c. 4. num. 3.* And all Subjects are *homines ligii*, leige men, and owe faith, and true alleagiance to him, as their superiour. The definition of Leigeancy is set down in the great customary of *Normandy*, *Ligeantia est ex qua domini tenentur vassalli sui &c. Ligeancy is an obligation upon all Subjects to take part with their leige Lord against all men living; to aid and assist with their bodies and minds, with their advise and power, not to lift up their armes against him, nor to support in any way those who oppose him.* The Lord like wise is bound to governe, protect, and defend his leige people (so the English are often called in Acts of Parliament) according to the rights, customes, and lawes of the Country. If Subjects breake their faith and prove disloyall, their estates and lives are expressly forfeited; and the King is enabled by law (as the fountaine of all Jurisdiction) to seize upon their goods and lands, and to destroy their persons. If he performe not his duty (for there is a mutuall obligation betweene leige Lord and leige men) yet notwithstanding this failing, neither his Crowne or any rights belonging to his Royall dignity are subject to forfeiture. Let them if they can produce any one law to maintaine their assertion. If there had beene any, it would not thus long have been concealed, for they are not accustomed to dissemble any advantages by overmuch modesty. Indeed they have not any shadow of prooffe or colour of reason for it; and yet upon their bare word how many thousands have hazarded their soules by assisting rebels, which are eternally lost, if they perish in their sinne? What madnesse is it to beleeeve their saying, before their and your owne oathes? Is it possible you can innocently destroy your Sovereigne, whose life you have sworne to defend with your utmost power? Be not abused by that miserable fallacy drawne from the nature of a Covenant. The mistake lies here, that law hath provided to bring Subjects offending to a tryall,

tryall, but hath not, could not question the King, and compell him to be responsible, for want of a superiour jurisdiction, All just proceedings must be *per legale iudicium parium, & legem terra*, by triall of Peeres and the law of the land. But the King hath no Peere, and *lex terra* doth not in any case disarme the King of the sword of Justice, it is not separable from his Crowne. Therefore he is exempt from tryall, and it cannot be just to punish him unheard, uncondemned. The conditions of Kings were very miserable, if he who sweares to governe the people according to the knowne lawes, so that they see what to trust to, should himselfe be liable to their arbitrary Justice.

The Premises are firme; for the Major is part of *magna charta*, and the Minor is as evident, as that his Subjects are not greater then he; which signifies only, that those which are under him are not his superiours. *Bracton*, you may remember, is frequent in the expression, *Rex non habet parem in regno*, and he is *santum sub Deo &c.* There is besides an antient monument, which shewes the manner of holding a Parliament before the Conquest, which will afford us no small light in this poynt. It is sayed to be delivered to *William the Conquerour* by discreet men, at his command, and to have beene approved by him; it runs thus, *Rex est caput, principium & finis Parliamenti. & ita non habet parem in suo gradu &c.* The King is the head, the beginning and the end of the Parliament and so he hath not any Peere or equall, but is himselfe the first degree. The 2^d is of Archbishops Bishops, Abbots and Priors holding by Baroney. The 3^d is of Proffessors of the Clergy. The fourth is of Earles, Barons and other noble personages. The fifth is of Knights of the Shire. The sixth degree is of Citizens and Burgeses, and so the whole Parliament is compleated by six degrees. But we must know that though any of the five degrees besides the King, shall be absent, if they were duely summoned, *Parlamentum nihilominus censetur esse plenum*, the Parliament is full in law.

The latter part is as manifestly true, that *Lex terra* doth not in any case disarme the King of the sword of Justice. By our constitutions *Regia majestas est armis decorata*, and *legibus armata*, the directive part of Law concernes the King, the penall

doth not; Hee ought to square his actions according to this rule, but if they should swerve from it, they cannot fall within the cognizance of his Subjects. All offences are punishable as committed against Him, His Crowne and Dignity, and though the Law hath condemned them, they are pardonable by His *Grace*: which clearly demonstrates, He is above penall Lawes, and it is indeed an inseparable priviledge of supream jurisdiction, let it be placed where it will, in one or more persons. Naturally, (supposing men by distance absolved from paternall dominion) that is, before a positive constitution of Empire, when men were equally free, it was not unlawfull to require by strong hand satisfaction for wrong; but after an established government, this liberty was civilly restrained; and it is not in our power to right our selves but in a legall way, which is by Magistrates; and the last appeale lyes to the highest Governour, that the processe may not be infinite, but we may have some certaine and peaceable decision of all differences.

To conclude this Section, (for I shall have occasion to enlarge my proofes in the next, in answer to their exceptions) we have sworne to beare true allegiance to the King, (such as have not are nevertheless strongly obliged by divine Law, and this duty doth naturally flow from the right to governe.) I request all men to examine their consciences how they can excuse themselves from flat perjury, if they indanger his life and endeavour to destroy him. It is expressely high Treason to compasse his death. 25. *Edw.* 3. Though God in his great goodnesse hath restrained their malice from effecting it, yet by shooting at him, by attempting to kill him, they are lost temporally, their goods and chattels, lands and tenements, and lives, are forfeited in Law; and what is most lamentable, their soules are eternally ruined. Disloyalty to their King is disobedience to God, I need not aggravate the sinne, the Apostles eloquence is most powerfull, *They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* The case is so extreamely plaine, I am amazed that the people should be so bewitched into Rebellion, contrary to Oaths and solemn Protestations, and repugnant to Christianity. For they are condemned out of their owne mouthes, unless that grosse non-
sense

ſenſe be true, that they ſhot at him (as at *Edge-hill*) for His preſervation, and endeavoured to kill him in his owne defence. It is miſerable comfort which the doubtfull ſignification of *νείμα* can afford, but ſinking men catch hold of every reed. *The word in the Greek is rather to be translated judgement and puniſhment,* (the words following are peremptory) *and as Piſcator obſerves, thereby is not meant eternall damnation, but the puniſhment of the Magiſtrate in this life:* Maſter Bridge his Answer to Doctor *Ferne*, p. 4. This calls to minde thoſe men of whom *Miſerum Felix* ſaith, they did *optare potius quam credere*, rather wiſh then beleve that no ſuch thing as eternall damnation was intended. The Analogy of the place will evince, that this word *νείμα* is like a ſword with two edges, fitted not onely to kill the body, but to deſtroy the ſoule alſo. That it threatens puniſhment from the Magiſtrate is very true, but not all; you muſt needs be ſubject not onely for wrath, but likewise for conſcience ſake: *v. 5. 13. c. to the Romans.* You are exhorted not to rebell, becauſe you may be hang'd, but leſt confidence in numbers ſhould answer this objection, a ſtronger motive is uſed, you ſhall certainly be damn'd; It is probable, you may take the Gallows in the way, but however Hell will be the end. Though you eſcape a ſhamellull death, yet you have forfeited eternall life.

§. 4.

I Will begin with a moſt remarkable paſſage in *Calvins Inſtitutions*, wherein are many things worth our obſervation, and which will conduce much to the deciſion of the preſent diſpute. *Neque enim ſi ultio domini eſt effrenata dominationis correctio, ideo protinus demandatam nobis arbitremur. Quibus nullum aliud quam parendi & patiendi datum eſt mandatum. De privatis hominibus ſemper loquor. l. 4. c. 20. §. 31.* If correcti-
 ing unbridled governments be his worke, who ſaid vengeance is mine, we muſt not therefore take Gods office into our hands, we cannot thinke to reforme the abuſes of higher powers is committed to us, to whom is given no other commandment but to obey and ſuffer.

suffer. I speake alwayes of private men. This truth clearly delivered speakes the goodnesse of the cause, and demonstrates the unlawfulnessse of taking up Armes against the King, though their supposition were true (as it is evidently false) that His Majestie did cast off the bridle of established Lawes, whereas He doth hazard His Life and Crowne in their defence. The quarrell is, that he doth obstinately maintaine our good old customs and constitutions (such as experience hath confirmed happy and beneficiall to this Nation) and will not be over awed to make new Lawes, such as private interestts would force upon Him and the Kingdome.

This is a sure ground for conscience to rely upon, and evidently destructive of most of their popular principles, which have poysoned the affections of the Subjects. It is not lawfull for us to correct ill Governours, because this cannot be effected without resistance, and all private men have direct precept against this; that of obedience and patience. This will speake home to the businesse, when it will after appeare, that all inferior Magistrates opposed to the highest, whose Delegates and Ministers they are, are but private men.

In the meane while, wee may hence discover the falshood of their principles. *viz.* That the law of nature will justify all resistance against injuries, and for our owne preservation; that no people is so mad as to contract to their owne ruine, (and therefore may resist any Magistrate, if their lives be indangered; the meaning is, if they have offended against known Lawes, which will certainly adjudge them to dye, the Magistrate shall bring them to a legall tryall at his owne perill) or to agree to be ill governed; and therefore since there is a mutuall compact, if Rulers performe not their duty, the contract is dissolved, and they are at liberty to right themselves, and to governe their Governours, and so sling the Pilots over-board, if he wilfully steere upon the Rocks, not by way of jurisdiction, but selfe-preservation. That the King is for the people, and Governours are appoynted for the good of those that are governed, and therefore Subjects are the more considerable men, and greater and more honourable then those who are placed over them, they bearing relation of the end, Magistrates

gistrates but of the meanes, and so the safety of the people must give Law to the Magistrate, if he will be peevish, and protect them according to old Lawes, when they fancy greater benefits from innovation; that *Quicquid efficit tale, est magis tale*, but according to their grounds, private men made all Magistrates, (for before they constituted some forme of Regiment by passions and agreements, they were but a multitude of men, amongst whom none had jurisdiction over other) the conclusion is, therefore private men are more Magistrates, and may call even the highest to account, and force him to be responsible for what ever they judge abuse of power.

The grounds upon which our seditious writers doe argue, are very contradictory in themselves, and yet all of them conclude for Rebellion.

Some (and I think the greater part) confesse it is unlawfull for private men to resist the Magistrate, though abusing his authority. These must needs acknowledge the weakenesse of those arguments (which yet they constantly presse, and which prevaile most upon the peoples affections) that it is a senselesse thing to imagine, wee can be obliged to be slaves, in case a King be guided by his Lusts, not Lawes, or not to preserve our selves against bloudy Tyrants. For their determination is contrary, that private men for want of authority to arme them, are bound to suffer. And Calvin is expresse, *lib. 3. c. 10. §. 6. nullum magis praeclarum facinus habetur, etiam apud philosophos, quam liberare tyrannide patriam. Atqui voce caelestis arbitri aperte damnatur, qui privatus manum tyranno intulerit.* They maintaine therefore, though private men sinne in resisting; yet if countenanced by inferior Magistrates, then it is not Rebellion, but a just Warre. These may be clearly convinced, if they will but consider, that inferior Magistrates are such only in respect of those who are under their jurisdiction, because to them they represent the King, but in reference to the King, they themselves are but Subjects, and can challenge noe jurisdiction over him.

Some state it thus; though not private men, nor yet inferior Magistrates, yet superior powers may bridle the exorbitant

lusts of Princes by force of Armes; this we grant, and therefore acknowledge, that in an Aristocracy where the lawes place the supreme power in such a body of men, what is done by their authority ought not to be resisted, and if any one man take upon him regall power contrary to their constitutions he is a Traytor, and may be cut off. But this concludes nothing in a Monarchy, *Res apud alios acta, aliis non præjudicat*; for their error is, They make the two Houses the Kings superiors; who themselves disclaime it in words, and seeme to aske you, who made them supreme Ruler; for all their petitions (which are the acts of them not as *single* men, but as *united* bodies, and considered *unitivè*, not *disjunctivè*; *socially*, not *severally*) carry this truth in the Title, *Your Majesties humble and obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, &c.* which acknowledges their obligation to be under him; and to say otherwise would be of dangerous consequence, for if they be not His Subjects, they put themselves out of His protection.

Some againe thinke it too grosse and absurd to maintaine, that Subjects in any capacity are above their King, and therefore a *coordination* serves their turne. By which if they meane an equall right in the King and the two Houses of a negative voyce, in respect of new Lawes to be enacted, or old abrogated; this is granted, but will doe them no service, and indeed it overthrowes their cause. For as the King doth not pretend that he can make use of his power to make new lawes without their consent, so by the same reason, neither can they challenge a right of taking away our old Government without the Royall assent. But if they meane by coordination, a division of Sovereignty, this is against the nature of it, and a cleare contradiction. So that if he be our onely Sovereigne there is no such thing as coordination; if they be joynt-Soveraignes, in what a miserable condition are we *English-men*, who should be bound to impossibilities, to obey three masters commanding contrary things? They might as well challenge us to doe homage to them, which is and ought to be performed onely to the King, *sum per id efficiamur homines solum illum cui juravimus*, as the
 Civilians

Civilians determine; and we cannot be *duorum in solidum*: 1. Si
ut cer. §. Si duobus D. commodati.

Some, and those the most desperate mutineers, lay such principles, as will bring in a certaine confusion: For they tell us obedience is commanded onely to good Magistrates; if men intrusted to governe according to Law faile in their duty, they cease to be Magistrates, for these are defined *Dei ministri nobis in bonum*, *The Ministers of God for the good of the Commonwealth*; so that to destroy such is to resist the men onely, and not the power; it is a warre against the person onely, and not the authority, which is none, if used against Law, because that doth not enable any to destroy it selfe, the Law cannot die legally; by power is not meant *vis* what they may doe by strength, but *iuris*, what they ought to doe in right.

This is the most reasonable doctrine, because coherent to it selfe throughout, but the most seditious doctrine likewise, because it gives a full liberty to the people, not onely in a representative body, (and therefore in the diffusive much more, because all the right that can pretend to against the King, is derived from this) but to any part of them, to any private man to resume (as some expresse it) their power, or as others to make use of that power, which they never parted with to their owne inconvenience, and so all necessity of suffering, except when they have deserved it, is taken away, and Christianity is made a tame madness.

To returne to Calvin, whose following words are much abused (though I must confesse some conceive them craftily laid downe by him, in reference to the time and place when and where he lived, and that his designe was to insinuate some small colour in plausible Generalls, for that most unjustifiable action of the Citizens of Geneva, who had lately cast off their true Prince, because a Bishop of a contrary religion) after he hath informed us, that God requires all private men to obey or suffer though under Tyrants, he addes, *Nam si qui nunc sint populares magistratus, &c.* If there be at this time any Magistrates appointed by Law, in behalfe of the people, to restraine the licentiousnesse of Kings, such as were the Ephori, opposed and set over

the Lacedæmonian Kings, the Tribunes of the people which curbed the Roman Consuls, and the Demarchi who bridled the Senate at Athens, &c. upon this supposition they not onely may, but ought to reforme the abuses of government, and to doe right to the poore Commonalty whose guardians they are. This is undenyably true, but impertinent to the present controversie, because the People or Nobles cannot challenge that power in a Monarchy, with which they are invested under an Aristocraticall or Democraticall regiment, such as *Athens, Rome, and Sparta* were.

It is very observable by the way, that by reason the supreme power was placed in the *Lacedæmonian Ephori*, and *Roman Tribunes*, &c. their office made their persons sacred and inviolable. They did justly challenge the same impunity, which we maintaine, belongs to Kings in a true Monarchy; for I argue not from the name, (for though the Duke of *Venice* were called King, it would not enlarge his authority, and the *Spartan Kings* had onely a Royall title, but were truly Subjects as we learne from *Plutarch* and *Polybius*) but from the nature of that power wherewith the constitutions of a Realme doe invest one person. Hence appeares the unreasonableness of their seditious invectives founded upon some inconveniences, because power will probably be sooner abused, if any person may doe what he will, and not be responsible for his injustice. These kinde of Declamations, with which their Presses and Pulpits labour, strike equally at all government. For there is a necessity we should lie open to some possible evils from the abuse of authority, or else we cannot provide for greater and certaine goods of common peace and publique tranquillity. It is no prudence to cure the miscarriages of government by a legall confusion, since even the worst government is lesse miserable then Anarchy.

I beleeve I can make a full discovery of those wicked Arts whereby crafty men have opened a way to the advancement of their covetous and ambitious designs at the price of publique calamity. *Tib. Gracchus* was excellently learned in those damnable

nable politiques; and I desire all indifferent men to judge whether the unhappy disturbers of *England* have not exactly managed the miseries of this Kingdome according to his principles. He proposed some Lawes which might well become a reall lover of his Country, but his violence in the illegall establishment of them, which did evidently tend to confusion, did make it apparent, that publique pretences were taken up in order to the satisfaction of private lusts. *Marcus Octavius*, as his fellow Tribune had the right of a negative voice, for if one Tribune dissented, no Ordinance could be made which ought to have the power of Law. He not able to effect his ends, informes the people that this opposition betweene their equall authorities did threaten civill warre, and therefore it would concerne them as they loved their owne safety, which was the supream Law, to decide this difference, by recalling that power which they had bestowed, to the end they might receive benefit therefrom; but which was now abused contrary to a trust reposed, to their prejudice. The issue was, he prevailed with them to depose *Octavius*, and he made them substitute a meane person, one of his dependants. But being sensible afterwards, that amongst all his illegall Acts, this gave most distaste, not onely to the Nobility and Gentry, who were indued with clearer understandings, but even to the slowly apprehending Commons, and that it proceeded from lawlesse passion to debase the highest dignity of Tribune of the people, and expose that sacred function to scorn and contempt, which ever before was justly esteemed inviolable, and such as secured the persons from being touched, hee brings these colours to excuse that most unprecedented action.

Gracchus his seditious practices, their pattern.

* The *Authority* of Tribunes is truly sacred and inviolable, but
 * for no other cause then as particularly devoted to protect the
 * people, and established to advance their welfare: If there-
 * fore a *person* thus highly intrusted, failes in performance of
 * duty, suffers the people for whom he serves, to be oppressed,
 * and endeavours to abridge their power, and denies to them
 * the means of expressing their will and pleasure by his vote;
 * (for he is but their mouth, enabled by them to declare their

' meaning.) In this case he forfeits all Priviledges and Prero-
 ' gatives due to his office, because hee thwarts those very ends
 ' which first moved the people to bestow upon him such large
 ' preeminences: for if otherwise we must be bound to sit still,
 ' while he pulls downe the Capitoll, or sets the Navy on fire,
 ' and notwithstanding any violences, or whatever exorbitan-
 ' cies of his lusts and wildest passions, tamely to obey him as
 ' our Tribune, that is such an one who by vertue of our trust for
 ' the improvement of our safety, usurpes a right to cut our
 ' throats, and is our servant to destroy us. Certainly if he en-
 ' deavour to stop that breath which created him, and to over-
 ' throw the underived authority of the people, he is no longer
 ' their Tribune. Is it not a most unreasonable thing, that a
 ' Tribune may imprison the Consull, if it conduce to the prefer-
 ' vation of the State, because in that the peoples safety is con-
 ' cerned; and yet that the people cannot depose him in their
 ' own defence, and resume their power when imployed to their
 ' ruine? For as the Consul, so the Tribune likewise is the peoples
 ' creature; they live and move and have their being in their
 ' election. Againe, Regall dignity (in which the powers of all
 ' other Magistrates of what degree or ranke soever, were uni-
 ' ted and made up a personall Sovereignty) was declared sacred
 ' and holy by the most solemne and most religious Ceremonies,
 ' as approaching nearer to, and partaking much of Divinity:
 ' neverthelesse the people expell'd *Tarquin*, abusing his Royall
 ' power, and some personall faults were thought a sufficient
 ' reason to take away the most ancient Magistracy, and that
 ' which founded *Rome* it selfe. There are not in this Citie any
 ' persons more holy, more venerable, then those pure votaref-
 ' ses the vestall virgines, whose charge it is to preserve the eter-
 ' nall fire. But if they staine their honour, our Law buryes
 ' them alive: They cannot challenge any priviledges belong-
 ' ing to their sacred employment, because when they cease to
 ' respect the Gods, we no longer owe a reverence to them,
 ' which is paid onely in order to their service of the Gods. Can
 ' it then be reasonable to suffer the peoples enemy, to enjoy the
 ' priviledges due to their Protector? He would cut off those
 ' hands

hands which hold him up. If the consent of the major part
 could make him Tribune, shall not the same power which did
 constitute be equally strong to dissolve? and much more can
 a greater power depose him, the concurrence even of the
 whole people declaring him unworthy. What is more ho-
 ly, what lesse to be violated, then things offered up and con-
 secrated to the Gods? And yet no man dares forbid the peo-
 ple to make use of these, or to remove them from one place
 to another, as oft as they shall judge it convenient so to doe.
 By the same reason, without dishonour to the Authority,
 they may discharge the person, and choose out a better habi-
 tation for that sacred office. That the Magistrate is separable
 from the man is evident, because many, when made by the
 people, out of a love to a retired life, or a sense of their in-
 firmities, and unfitnessse to manage the publique, have deposed
 themselves, others have intreated the people to choose more
 able servants. *Plutarch.* in the life of *Tiberius*, and *Gaius*
Gracchi.

It is needlesse to make the application. Observe the event;
 This illegall deed (which was justified only by a pretended
 necessity, for I know not what imminent dangers did threaten
 the Common-wealth, except this Bill did passe) being ventured
 on by the unconsidering multitude to avoyd Civill Warre, pro-
 ved the ready meanes to kindle it. The flames of which so-
 dainely consumed the author, with many of his adherents. For
 one *Nasica* so managed *Gracchus* his seditious principles, that
 he killed him with his owne weapons. For taking advantage
 of the many discontented, he requires the Consull to aide the
 publique safety, by destroying him who had usurped a tyranni-
 call power. The Consul replyes with much moderation, ju-
 stice and prudence, 'It did not become him to make force the
 measure of right, nor could he kill a common Citizen, before he
 were brought to a legall tryall, & condemnation had past upon
 him. But he promises, if the people either seduced or awed by
Tiberius, should Vote any Ordinance contrary to established
 Lawes, he would esteeme it of no force, and would not yield
 to the observance of it. *Nasica* rises up in a rage, and gives the
 word

word to the Tumult, since then the chiefe Magistrate neglects the common safety, wee must not be wanting to our owne preservation ; such as will maintain the reverence due to lawfull authority, follow me. In this mutiny *Tiberius* falls a sacrifice to the publique peace. — Stones and Staves were the onely weapons by which this popular man, and above three hundred of his companions were destroyed. The behaviour of *Blossius* a great incendiary, and an over active instrument to advance wicked designs, is very remarkable. He being arraigned before the Consuls, confesses freely, he had executed what ever *Tiberius* had commanded him. *Nasica* asks him, what he would have done if he had beene commanded to fire the Capitoll ; He replies, *Tiberius* would not have commanded such a thing ; others presse hard upon him to tell his resolution, in case *Tiberius* should have commanded it ; He plainly tells them, he had then done it, being confident *Tiberius* would not have commanded it, except it were for the good of the people. The parallel will be defective, if there have not beene unhappy instruments who captivating their sense to an implicate faith, and beleeving not what themselves feelee, but what others Vote, are active in their owne ruine in pursuance of safety, and pull upon themselves misery and destruction in obedience to those Ordinances, which tell them the Subjects happinesse is thereby advanced.

There are other circumstances fit to be taken notice of. He had provoked so many, he did not dare to be a private man againe, (not any *personall ambition*, but only *State jealousie* would not permit him to lay downe his power) and therefore he so contrives his businesse, that the people may choose him Tribune the following year, not so much to satisfie any private desire (for he would seeme to rule only in obedience to their commands) as to provide for their good in his owne safety. The way to this end was to court the Commons by all popular Artes. He propounded new edicts, by which the time of military service was shortned, and some yeares were cut off from the prefixed number, in which Roman Citizens were bound, when called upon to performe the duties of Warre. He made

made it lawfull to appeale from any sentence to the judgment of the people. To the Senate (in whon only before the authority to administer justice did reside) he joynd an equall number of the inferior Commons, so that a major part of them, with a minor part of Senators, if they made the major part of the whole, did sway all busineses. Thus, saith *Plutarch*, by all possible wayes, lessening and weakning the authority of the Senate by creating greater power in the people, rather out of wilfullnesse and obstinacy, then sound reason, which must needs perceive, it was voyd of all Justice, and very disadvantageous to the publique interest. He had some other little Artes which stood him in good stead; when the Votes of the people were to be numbred to authorize his edicts, if he perceived his adversaries would prevaile in number, because some of his party were absent, he would take some opportunity to pick a quarrell with his fellowes, only to divert the businesse for the present, and gaine time, and if that would not doe, he would dismisse the assembly, and command another meeting. Then would he appeare first upon the place in mourning apparell, and with afflicted lookes, and humble countenance, sadly requesting the people to take compassion on him, who suffered such miserable things, and feared worse only for doing them service; and desiring them to reward his faithfull endeavour by loving his poore Wife and little Children, for he gave himselfe for a lost man, since he had reason to feare (yet the cause in which he should fall was an unspeakable comfort) that the enemies of the Common-wealth, and such as maligned their happinesse, would come upon him in the night, and force his house, and murder him. These well dissembled griefes so wrought their passions, that the abused Citizens set up Tents about his house at their owne charges, and maintained a constant Guard for his protection.

When such men shall make a State miserable, under pretence of improving its happinesse, and challenge to themselves a right to breake all settled constitutions, under colour of forcing upon the Kingdome new Lawes, which will be more beneficiall; when they shall imprison us at pleasure, that wee may

injoy our liberties, and take away our goods to secure our property, and punish the most orthodox, conscientious, and painfull Preachers, and impose upon Congregations factious Lecturers to settle true Religion; and when they have acted such high mischiefs, shall tell us, the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdome are Malignants, and delight in, and contribute their aides to advance an illegall government, who are certaine to suffer most in it, it is then time to cry out,

Quis tuleris Gracchos de seditione querentes ?

I have beene tempted to a large digression, because the same Artes which made *Rome* miserable, are visible in our calamities, I will now proceed with *Calvin*; after he hath very conscientiously instructed us in our christian duty, by saying all resistance is unlawfull, unlesse undertaken by the authority of Magistrates, whom the Law enables to be the peoples protectors, and gives them the highest power (which can only be in an Aristocracy or popular State) he hath afforded too great an occasion for mistake by an ungrounded conjecture, *Et quâ etiam foris potestate, ut nunc res habent, funguntur in singulis regnâ tres ordines, quum primarios conventus peragunt. And the same power, (which the Tribunes of Rome, &c. had) as things now stand, peradventure belongs to the three Estates, when they hold their principall assemblies.* I could wish, I were able to excuse him from temporizing; yet he layes it down extream cunningly, *perhaps, peradventure*, if this chance to be otherwise, you have nothing to say for your selves; you are condemned out of his mouth, and in a poynt of such highly concerning consequences, you have no reason to change his adverb of doubting into an assertive. I shall oppose to his *perhaps*, it is certainly not so in *England*, because our Lawes make this a Monarchicall government, and so different from that of *Rome*, or *Athens*, or *Sparta*, and therefore conscience hath no warrant for resistance against him in whom the supreme power is placed.

The worke of the second section was, to prove it unlawfull for Subjects to resist him or them, in whom the supreme authority, that is, all the legall power of the Kingdome in order

to raise armes is placed. I shall now shew the invalidity of their exceptions against it, by manifesting, that no dispensation grounded upon what causes soever, as indeavours to make them slaves or beggars, or to introduce another and a false religion, and what else may be comprehended under the extreame abuse of this power to their oppression, or upon any persons, as inferiour magistrates, or any colour of preserving the authority of the man, by fighting, and as much as in them lies, destroying the man in authority, or of making the power well used for the good of the people, and not the person abusing that power to be the minister of God &c. can excuse such resistance from the sin of rebellion, and from *Θιουαγια* a fighting against God in despising his ordinance.

Tyrannicall abuse of power doth not make taking up armes against the supreme governour lawfull.

This truth is confest in words even by their cheife writers, though in the meane while, they make use of such arguments to prevaile on the peoples affections (and exhort them against the King in the feare of God) as clearly overthrow this acknowledgement. The fuller answer to Doctor Ferne saith thus, *there are two kinds of tyranny, regiminis and usurpationis, that of government, though never so heavy, yet must be indured not only to the good, (sayes the Apostle 1. Pet. 2. 18.) but the froward too, and therefore I know no man that defends the ten tribes revolt from Rehoboam. p. 22.* when they complained of some greivances under which they had groaned in his fathers reigne, he was as indiscreete, as unjust, and told them, he would oppresse them more, and yet because he had *juu regiminis*, it is ingenuously granted, it was unlawfull for them to Rebell.

Tyranny doth not dispense with the Subjects duty of allegiance.

The breife answer to Doctor Ferne, thus, *we presse against resisting power, authority, though abused.* He doth not hide himselfe (as ordinarily) by dividing the power from the person who is invested therewith, but concludes against resisting the men also. *If those who have power to make lawes, shall make sinfull lawes, (that is prove tyrants) and so give authority to force obedience, we say here, there must be either flying or passive obedience. p. 113.* By the same reason, if he that hath the only power

by lawes already made, to traine, array, and mustar, and to dispose of the *Militia*, with which he is intrusted for his Subjects protection and his owne safety, should put them into hands, which they cannot confide in, yet there must be no waire waged to prevent a supposed danger, there must be either flying or passive obedience.

But if one that is in authority command out of his owne will, and not by law, I resist no power, no authority at all, if I neither actively nor passively obey, no, I do not resist so much as abused authority. If you meane by not passively obey, take up armes (against which you must, if you speake pertinentely, and would make an application of this answer, to the justification of hostile resistance in Subjects) you do resist power and authority in this case. For though you are not obliged to yeild obedience, either contrary to divine præcept, or the knowne lawes of the realme, yet by making use of armes, you transgresse that law, which disables Subjects to make warre without the Princes authority, much more against his expresse command, to the manifest indangering of his royall Person. He answers, *this had beene but accidentall*, p. 131. and so we are told by others, *he might have stayed away*. Those damn'd assassins and bloody villaines, by whose hands the two *French Henriess* fell, might have made the same plea for their execrable murders. If they had not come in their way, which they might have as voyded by locking themselves up, or by some other meanes, they had not beene killed by them, But he implies a desire, and beseeching him not to be there, but to withdraw himselfe. If the King had as full right to be there, as in any other place within his Kingdome, they may with the same reason justify the murder of him, if he will not be intreated to keepe such company only as they shall allot to him, or to leave his Court, or creepe into an oven.

The Author extreamely contradicts this duty, before professed in the name of all, of flying or passive obedience, and layes downe a most desperate conclusion, which dissolves all government and makes Anarchy legall. Upon supposall that Parliaments (taken in the onely true sense for King, and Lords, and Commons)

Commons) should degenerate and grow tyrannicall; *I confesse* sayes he the condusion of such a State would be very dangerous and like to come to confusion; particular men could not helpe themselves, and the whole State (marke how he fancies a whole State, when opposed to King and Lords and all the Commons representatively; what can this State be, but such a number of particular men, who he saith, cannot helpe themselves?) ought to suffer much before it should helpe it selfe by any wayes of resisting: but if you can suppose a Parliament so farre to degenerate, as they should all conspire together (all in Law are the major part of both Houses with the Royall assent) with the King to destroy the Kingdome (how unreasonably he expresses a supposall of being worne to satisfie private Interests by making prejudiciall lawes to the Subject in generall, let him translate the scene into Ireland, and he may thinke the supposition very possible) and so possesse the lands and riches of the Kingdome themselves (not all, but in an unequitable proportion) in this case whether a law of nature would not allow of standing up to defend our selves, yea to reassume the power given to them (this is a cleare confession, they parted with their power) to discharge them of that power they had, and set up some other, I leave to the light of nature to judge.

But you will say, this cannot be, because the higher powers must Obiect. not be resisted by any.

This is not properly to resist the power, but to discharge the power, *Answ.* to set the power elsewhere. They daily improve their principles, and now professe plainly, what understanding men did before collect from their grounds, that it is lawfull not onely to depose a King, but even the Parliament. He is very apprehensive he hath spoken out (and it is very strange the Committee should order this doctrine to be published) *I know* sayes he, this will be cryed out of, as of dangerous consequence, wherefore God deliver us, (as I hope he will) for ever making use of such a principle. pag. 133, 134.

They confesse generally, they are bound to defend the Kings person; (and if they should say otherwise, we have their oathes and tolemne protestations against their words) witnesse the 23 day of October (which may require an Annuall gratitude for the

the great deliverance both of Church and State in the preservation of His Majesty) whether they did according to the information of their owne consciences. All the answer I can meete with carries this sense, which I will expresse in Mr *Burroughes* his words; *As for the Kings person, is it not the profession of the Parliament to defend it?* pag. 112. and againe, *why doth the Doctor speake of stretching forth the hand against the Lords Anointed? who endeavours it? doth not the Parliament professe the defence of the Kings person?* pag 120. Hence it appeares, they know their duty, the question is, whether they performed it, who directed their Canon more especially against His sacred Majesty; which they cannot esteeme an accidentall thing, who are not ignorant of that treacherous advertisement which *Blague* gave in to the Earle of *Essex*, in what part of the battell, the *King* and *Prince* were, that they might at one blow, cut off our present happinesse and future hopes. I desire onely, that their eares would not hang in their eyes, and that men would not beleewe authority against sense. I shall onely say, most miserable is he; who condemneth himselfe in that thing, which he allowes and practises.

Exc.

Ans.

Tyrant is opposed to King, and they are incompatible.

If they understand *tyrant* under this notion, as an *usurper*, this is very true, but nothing pertinent, for there is not any just scruple, but those may be turned out by force according to law, who come in by force against Law; as in the case of *Athalia*, destroyed by *Jehoiada*, whereby *Joash* who had true title, was established in the throne. But if they meane (as they doe, if they would conclude for themselves) a *King* having right to governe, and proving a wicked or weake Prince, it is false that this *Tyrannus cum titulo* the Lords Anointed, though he abuse that power (for *Chrisma domini*, this *holy oyle* onely excludes usurpation, and includes a just title onely, and not either the Orthodox religion, or goodnesse, or prudence) is opposed simply to a King, but to a just or wise King. As therefore his right to the Crowne, is not founded in his divine or morall vertues, but in a lawfull succession, so neither can contrary vices dispense with any to depose him, or lift up their armes against him.

This will be evident, if we consider what kinde of Prince he was,

was, to whom Saint *Paul* writing to the *Romans*, forbade resistance for conscience sake. It was *Nero*, in whom very happily this position might be enforced to the height, and yet all their exceptions are determined invalid. Notwithstanding his Idolatry, his oppressing his Subjects by strange cruelties, and persecuting the Saints.

--- *Que divisa tyrannum*

Efficiunt, collecta tenens ---

Yet the Apostle commands not to resist even him upon paine of damnation. Our (or rather Saint *Pauls*) adversaries seeme to object, *durus hic sermo*, this is a hard saying. The Law of Nature allows selfe preservation; the people made *Nero* Emperour by their consent, (for usurpation can give no right) and therefore are more powerfull then he, for *Quicquid efficit tale, est magis tale*. The people may be without the Emperour, the Emperour cannot be without the people: It is not probable the safety of mankind should depend upon the lust of one man, &c. I shall answer with the Civilian. who teacheth us to obey and not dispute even humane constitutions. *Quod quidem perquam durum est: sed ita lex scripta est. L. prospexit. D. qui & a quib.* It was Gods pleasure so to order humane affaires. Such Christian submission doth most commonly produce peace and plenty in our streets, and is the mother of many goods, but if the abuse of power should bring evils upon us, they cannot be so great, so generall as civill warre would create. But suppose we suffer more in a corrupt peace, then amidst such unnaturall distractions as this miserable Country now bleedeth under: yet we ought not to be tempted to impatience, but should rather rejoyce, that God hath enabled us to stand out his fiery tryall; such afflictions if rightly understood, are blessings, and though we are not bound to pray for them, yet we ought to give thanks. Bad Rulers (if wee doe not imitate, whom we condemne, and neglect our duty, because they performe not theirs) are but unhappy instruments of our greater glory. If we did deeply consider the fruits of our patience, we should certainly pittie, and perhaps love our oppressors, as the unfortunate occasion of our higher blisse.

The

The Christians under *Julian* were very sensible of this duty, and confesse themselves bound to obey him in all lawfull things, and they did accordingly fight his battailes; but when a greater then he did interpose, *cessabat potestas minoris*, they chose to serve God in the first place, and redeemed their not obedience to him, by offering up their bodies willing sacrifices. For they wanted not numbers sufficient, as appeares by the Armies electing *Jovianus* a Christian to succeed him in the Empire, with this acclamation, *Christians sumus*. If resistance were lawfull in any case, never men could have brought fairer pleas. *Julian* was an Apostate from the established true religion; he dealt with Sorcerers and Magicians, and professed against doing justice to the Christians, making sport with their injuries, and returning no other answer to their teares, and humble Petitions but such scoffes as these; It is part of your religion to be abused; you forget the *Galilaean* precept, Why doe you not rather suffer wrongs? you must forgive all offences against you, as you hope to be forgiven; if they strike you on one cheeke, you are bound to turne the other also; if they take away your cloaks, that gives them a just title to your coates also, if at least he whom you worship have power to dispose of your goods; you are bound from going to Law, and rendring evill for evill; why doe you petition against, who are bound to pray for your Persecutors? If they take away your revenues, they advance you into the state of perfection, which requires, you should not possesse any thing, &c.

They were more persecuted by his wit then his cruelty, and yet though he did even wanton in their miseries, his barbarous usage could not prevaile with them to neglect their calling, but they committed themselves to him who judgeth righteously, and he revenged their causelesse sufferings in his destruction; for as stricken from Heaven, he cryed out, *O Galilaan, thou hast got the better.*

It is as hard a matter to perswade men to obey, or suffer under bad Princes, as it is to make them (the same in practice which they are in profession) true Christians. For they are every apt to corrupt the plaine Text with false glosses, as oft as religion

ligion runnes crosse to civill interests. Their strong desire it should be false supplies the defects of arguments, which could not be able to stand against manifest truth, if affections had not a more powerfull influence upon humane actions, then reason. I shall therefore labour to prove what they are so unwilling to beleave, and I will lay downe the conclusion in *Calvins* owne words (whom they cannot except to as a *Royalist*) *In homine deterrimo, honoréque omni indignissimo, penes quem modò sit publica potestas, praeclaram illam & divinam potestatem residere, quam Deus justitiae ac judicii sui ministris verbo suo detulit. Proinde à subditis eadem in reverentia & dignatione habendum, quantum ad publicam obedientiam attinet, quàm optimum regem, si daretur, habituri essent. Let his vices be never so many, so great, and his merits small or none, yet by reason of his office we must esteeme his person sacred; God doth shed upon him the rayes of Divinity, by constituting him his Minister: wherefore his Subjects should looke upon him with the same reverence and awe as they would upon the best King.* Instit. l. 4. c. 20. §. 25.

The Heathens went farre, *Voto expetendos bonos principes, qualescunque tolerandos*; But Christianity goes higher, we may pray for the best, but we must not onely suffer, but yeild chearfull and hearty obedience to the worst. If any doubt arise, let them consider the divine providence so frequently mentioned in the Scriptures, and his especiall disposing of Kingdomes. *The Kings hearts is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water, he turneth it whither soever he will: Prov. 21. 1. and Dan. 2. 21. He changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth Kings, and setteth up Kings, &c.* There is a place in *Jeremy* very apposite. *I have made the earth, the man and beast that are upon the ground by my great power, and by my outstretched arme, and have given it unto whom it seemed meet unto me, and now have I given all these lands into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon my servant, &c. and the Nation which will not put their necke under the yoke of the King of Babylon, that Nation will I punish saith the Lord with the sword, and with the famine, and with the pestilence, untill I have consumed them by his hand. Therefore hearken not yee to your Prophets, nor to your Diviners,*

nor to your Dreamers, which speake unto you saying, ye shall not serve the King of Babylon: for they prophecy a lye unto you that ye should perish. cap. 27. He was a fierce Tyrant, and yet obedience was enjoined by God, because hee had a right to governe them. I have enlarged my selfe upon that of Samuel, *Hoc jus erit Regis*, this shall be the right of the King who shall reigne over you; and it amounted to this, to destroy their liberties and property. Calvin drawes this conclusion from it; Kings could not doe so according to right, because the Law was against it, which instructed them in their duty to governe justly; but it was called *jus in populum*, a right over the people, to which they must needs be subject; nor was it lawfull for them to resist. l. cit. §. 26.

It is a frivolous objection (saith he) that this precept concerned onely the Israelites; because the command is generall, and obligeth all not to resist him to whom the Kingdome of right appertaineth. The counsell hence inferred is very good, let not us therefore breake our duty, because Kings performe not theirs. If we live under a bloody Prince, or coverous, or intemperate, or weake, or one that persecutes the most godly professors, let us call to minde our own sins, which have deserved greater castigations. Let us thinke it is Gods sword, the sword of Justice, though man commit murther with it. If we have deserved to die, and the Law passe sentence upon us, we ought not to be impatient, though we be cut off by a wicked executioner.

Exc.

Many examples are alleadged out of the old Testament to colour this breach of duty.

Ans.

We have plaine precept not to resist, and must conforme our actions to knowne rules, not the practice of others. For instance, *Who can lift up his hands against the Lords anoynted and be guiltlesse?* this implyes a command not to rebell. Let every soule be subject to the higher powers. He that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. Submit your selves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto Governours as unto those who are sent by him. *Legibus vivendum est non exemplis*: Examples can onely shew what was done, not what ought to be done.

To answer briefly, the examples by them produced are either *impertinent*, as being acted upon Usurpers, or *not to be drawne into a rule*, because extraordinarily allowed by God, who may dispense with his owne law (but this cannot warrant our imitation, no more then the Israelites robbing the Egyptians can licence *Plundering*, or any other illegall *weakening the wicked*; or *Jacobs lying* to his Father, can excuse want of sincerity and truth, when by false reports, they may probably undoe their brethren; or *Jaels breaking trust* in murdering *Sisera*, can dispense with killing enemies, after composition made to save their lives) or lastly they were *unjust*. To runne over the particulars would be more tedious then profitable, because they are all clearly solved by applying one of these three: They are *impertinent*, or *extraordinary*, or *wicked*.

Secondly, If wee should grant that it were lawfull for the Jewes to resist Tyrants in their owne defence, this comes not home to us, who are called as Saint Peter sayes, to beare the Crosse, and to follow Christs example. When wee are in danger of being killed for our Religion, all that is allowed to us is, only to *flye from one City to another*. Wee may better submit to so high a degree of patience, in consideration our well being is not provided for in this world, and despise death, because the joyes of eternall life are so plainly set before us in the Gospell, whereas under the Law they were entertained with promises of temporall blessings, and it must needs goe to their hearts to loose the proposed reward of keeping the Law, length of dayes, by their due observance of it, and this upon a suspicion of a better life, rather then a confidence grounded upon any plaine promise.

I have formerly shewed the practice of the primitive Christians, which was so apparent, that not having so much impudence as to deny it; neverthelesse they have invented severall exceptions to it, which take of the glory of their innocence. I have beaten them out of their strongest fort, which was this, *deccant vires, They had a good will to rebell, but wanted power only.*

1. Exc.

The Christians were but private men, and for that reason

2. Exc.

could not lawfully resist, but if they had beene countenanced with the authority of the Senate, questionlesse they would not have submitted themselves so tamely to the slaughter.

Answ.

First, these men who grant thus much are bound in conscience to answer their owne arguments, drawne from the law of nature, which they tell us allowes selfe defence, though with the Magistrates destruction, and taken from the chiefe topique of their invectives, that no body did contract to be ill-governed, much lesse to be ruined, and therefore no obligation can lye upon them not to preserve themselves. But these and such like reasons are evidently confuted by all those Texts which bind us to suffer though wrongfully, as wee have Christ for an example, &c. Those holy men, who submitted their bodies to the flames, lookt upon martyrdom, not as a thing of choice, but of duty. They might have pleaded the law of nature, and and the injustice of their persecutors, whose office was to be a terror to the evill, and to countenance doing that which is good; but such sophistry could not prevaile upon religion, which had bound up their hands from revenging themselves upon private men, and much lesse upon the Magistrate.

Secondly, that the Senate had no authority to wage Warre against their Emperour, will be evinced from *Rom. 13. 1. & 1 Pet. 2. 13. 14.* applyed to the civill constitutions of the Roman Empire. Submit to the King as supreme, that is, to the Roman Emperour, saith *Diodati, c. all' imperator Romano, detto tal-volta Rè dalle natione stranieri.* *Ulpian* acquaints us, there was not any legall power but in him; *what he determines hath the force of law*, he adds the reason, *because the people in whom the Senate are included, by the lex regia, gave unto him the right to manage all their power.* *Ulpote cum lege Regia, quae de imperio ejus lata est, populus ei & in eum* (which signifies in *se*, saith *Theophilus*) *omne suum imperium & potestatem conferat. l. quod princ. D. de const. princ.* *Justinian* clearly decides the case; if the Emperour shall take any cause into his cognizance, *omnes omnino iudices*, let all judges whatsoever know, that this sentence is law to all effects, not only in the particular cause, but it becomes a rule to decide all like cases by. For what

is greater, what more sacred then the Imperiall Majesty ? or who is so insolent, *ut regalem sensum contemnat* ? The sense even of the Senate was not to stand in competition with Royall constitutions. *l. si imperial. D. de legib.*

Wee may fitly observe, that some Emperours did by Acts of grace limit their legislative power, which was solely in them, and bind themselves from the use of it, without the advice of the Senate, as is to be seene. *l. humanum. Cod. de legib.* and may be collected from *Auth. Habita quidem. C. ne fili.* and divers other constitutions ; yet this gave no power to the people, to be employed against them, if they should not performe their duty. This grant made the Roman Empire like the Kingdome of *England*. (for wee have a cleare and full testimony from our Common Law, that the legislative power is onely in the King, though the use of it be restrained to the consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, *le Roy fait les loix avec le consent du Seigneurs & Communs, & non pas les Seigneurs & Communs avec le consent du Roy.* The King makes Lawes with the consent of the Lords and Commons, and not the Lords and Commons with the consent of the King.) or that which *Virgil* describes,

---gandet regno *Trojanus Aestes,*

Indicitq; forum, & Patribus dat jura vocatis.

It is the most unreasonable thing that ever was fancied, that Subjects assembled, should have greater authority then their King, without whose call they could not have met together, and at whose pleasure they are dissolved in Law, and bound to depart to their owne homes.

The *Anticavalier* doth pitifully intangle himselfe with 3. *Exc.* this objection, and first he tells us, he is confident *Tertullian* did not speake the truth, when he imputes their patience to the power of godlinesse, which prohibited resistance, and not their want of force to withstand ; He might as easily have given the lye to *Cyprian*, to the Ecclesiasticall writers, who relate the story of the *Theban Legion*, and acquaint us, that the greatest part of *Julians* Army against the Persians consisted of Christians. But supposing, as he had good reason, this bold de-

nyall would not give satisfaction, it not being likely his credit should goe farther then the records and evidences out of Holy Fathers and Church story, after severall fruitlesse essayes to solve it, he pitches at last upon this; That honest liberty was hid from them for some speciall ends, which since God hath revealed to this latter age, and therefore he gave to them an extraordinary spirit of patience and courage. which is inconvenient for these dayes wherein God hath afforded a more plentiful light, and shewes us our liberty, and that there is no necessity of being Martyrs. It is now the wickedes turne to suffer. I will set downe his words at large, for they are so strange, sober men might doubt the faith of a relater.

Certaine it is, That the frame and tenor of Gods after dispensations did require, that such a liberty should be hid from them; or at least, that they should not make use of it; as on the contrary, the nature and purport of those dispensations which God hath now in hand, requires that this liberty should be manifested, and made known unto Christians. We know, that according to the counsell and foreknowledge of God, Antichrist was then to come into the world: as now wee know that he is about to be destroyed, and cast out of the world. Now this is a generall rule, looke what truthes were necessary to be shut up, and concealed from the Churches of Christ, that Antichrist might passe by, and get up into his throne; the discovery and letting out of the same into the world, are necessary for his pulling downe, &c. But God causing a dead sleep (as it were) to fall upon those truthes which should in speciall manner have opposed him, he had the opportunity without much contradiction or noyse to steale and convey himselfe into that *cathedram pestilentis*, that chaire of Papall state, which yet he possesseth. Now amongst many other truthes which were of necessity to be layd a sleep, for the passing of this beast unto his great power and authority, and for the maintaining and safeguarding of him in the possession hereof, this is one of speciall consideration; That Christians may lawfully in a lawfull way, stand up to defend themselves, in case they be able, against any unlaw-

*full assaults; by what assailants, or by what pretended authority soever made upon them. For had this opinion beene ti-
 *meously enough, and substantially taught in the Church, it
 *would certainly have caused an abortion in Antichrists birth,
 *and so have disappointed the Devill of his first borne. Had
 *not the spirits, and judgments and consciences of men beene
 *as it were cowed and marvailously imbased and kept under
 *(and so prepared for Antichrists lure) by doctrines and te-
 *nents, excessively advancing the power of superiors, over in-
 *feriors, and binding Iron yokes and heavy burdens upon those
 *that were in subjection, doubtlesse they would never have
 *bowed downe their backs so low, as to let such a beast over
 *them, they would never have resigned up their judgments
 *and consciences into the hands of such a spirituall Tyrant as
 *he. So that you see, there was a speciall necessity for the let-
 *ting of Antichrist into the world, yea and for the continuance
 *of him in his throane, that no such opinion as this which wee
 *speake of, whether truth or untruth, should be taught and
 *beleevd; I meane, which vindicateth and maintaineth the
 *just rights and liberties, and priviledges of those that live un-
 *der authority and subjection unto others.

*Whereas, now on the contrary, that time of Gods preor-
 *dination and purpose, for the downefall of Antichrist, draw-
 *ing neere, there is a kind of necessity, that those truths which
 *have slept for many yeares, should now be awakened; and
 *particularly that God should reveale and discover unto his
 *faithfull Ministers, and other his servants the just bounds and
 *limits of authority and power, and consequently the just and
 *full extent of the lawfull liberties of those that live in subje-
 *ction. Evident it is that they are the Commonalty of Christi-
 *ans, I meane Christians of ordinary ranke and quality that
 *shall be most active, and have the principall hand in execu-
 *ting the judgments of God upon the Whore. Consider that
 *place, *Revel. 18. 4. 5. 6.* Now that this service shall be per-
 *formed unto God by them (Christians I meane of under ranke
 *and quality) contrary to the will, desires, or commands of
 *those Kings and Princes under whom they live, it appeares by
 *that

that which immediately followes, *v. 9. pag. 30, 31, 32.* The peremptory conclusion of all is, that the lawfulness of Rebellion is now discovered to Gods Church, as the necessary means to ruine Antichrist; for the Kings will never be perswaded to effect this great and holy worke, and therefore the People must.

Whereas the Text saith expressly, *That the ten Kings shall hate the Whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burne her with fire. For God hath put in their hearts to fulfill his will, Revel. 17. 16, 17.* Least the people should be frighted by this (as they justly ought) from making rebellious attempts against lawfull authority, because that in Gods good time will arme them, and fight joyntly the Lords battaile against the Beast, he labours to remove this scruple. *I conceive,* saith he, *this is not meant of the persons of Kings, but of their States and Kingdomes (id est) of the generality of the people under them.* Master Goodwin, *pag. 32.* The Kings shall hate the Beast, that is, the people shall hate their Kings, and religiously rebell against them in order to the destruction of Antichrist.

The same Doctrine is delivered by Master Burroughs. *There is a necessity that in these times peoples consciences should be further satisfied in their liberties then formerly, because the time is (wee hope) at hand for the pulling downe of Antichrist, and wee find by Scripture this worke at first will be by the people, Revel. 18. pag. 144. and for a close, pag. 145. Surely the right knowledge of these liberties God hath given the people, will much helpe forward the great things God hath to doe in this latter age.*

I must confesse, my heart is filled with sorrow, when I consider how farre the reformed Religion is. degenerated, which can be no longer pure then it continues peaceable. But alas! it is become the mother and nurse of Rebellion; it fomentes sedition; and advances the ruine of States. What a sad thing is it that factious Preachers should so farre bewitch the people by strong delusions, as to prevaile with them to neglect plaine duties of subjection and obedience upon the strength of obscure prophecies? whereas they ought to live according to precept, not predictions; many of which shall not be fulfilled but by
the

the sinnes of wicked men: Bless me O Lord from being an instrument to bring such thy workes to passe. It is our onely safe way, not to doe evill that good may come of it. The Apostle forbids it, and the reason may be this, God hath no need of the sinfull man. Why shouldst thou cease to be good, for feare God else would not be true? *Babylon* will certainly fall, though wee walke uprightly; to feare God and honour the King, are no stops to the destruction of that man of sin. After such fiery spirits have engaged the Kingdome into probable wayes, of utter ruine and desolation; after your hands have beene imbrued in the blood of the ancient Nobility, and you have miserably torne in pieces the brave and honest Gentry, and exposed the seduced Commons to those fatall mischiefs, which accompany the Sword, Pestilence, and Famine, and the bleeding State shall at length grow wise, and unite againe for the preservation (if it be possible) of the ruinous remainder, rather out of a wearinesse of the insupportable calamities of Warre, then out of a Christian love, which would have continued unto us the blessings of peace; All the satisfaction which these false Prophets can give, for the unspeakable mischiefs which they have pull'd upon their unhappy Countrey, will be onely this; *We were mistaken in those places of Daniel and the Revelation; The time, it seemes, is not yet come. The Saints must still expect, and Gods holy ones must waite and pray for a more happy opportunity to perfect the great worke by Rebellion.*

There is a mutuall contract betweene King and Subjects, and Exc. if He breake the Covenant. He forfeites the benefits of this agreement, and He not performing the duty of a King, they are released from the duty of Subjects.

The Jewes could have made this plea, grounded in the nature of a Covenant, the breach of which (though instituted by God betweene King and People, *Deut. 17.*) was no dispensation for them to Rebell, as was evidenced formerly. The Kings of *Persia* though confessedly Supreme, and not responsible to their subjects, yet tooke an oath, at their inauguration, as *Xenophon* and *Diodorus Siculus* informe us, and it was not lawfull for them to alter certaine lawes, as appears in *Daniell*, never-
Answ.

thelesse their miscarriages in government, did not dispen-
 with their Subjects loyalty. If a Father promise any thing to
 his children, they have a full right to his performance; but in
 case he prove dishonest, he doth not thereby loose his right to
 governe them, nor are they excused from their duty of honour
 and obedience: So there is a contract betweene Husband and
 Wife, the violation of which on the mans part doth not be-
 reave him of his dominion over the woman. I confesse, a great
 obligation lyes upon Kings, not only from their Oathes and
 promises, and agreements, but expressly from Gods law also,
 to governe the people committed to their charge, with justice
 and equity. And if they abuse their power, Gods punishment
 will be as high as their ingratitude. The greatest temporall fa-
 vour which God bestowes upon any single man, is to make him
 his Vicegerent, his immediate Deputy, *Christum suum*, his a-
 noynted; and the greatest blessing he hath given to mankind
 is government, by which he hath provided for the common
 good of all. Now if he turne this blessing into a curse, if he
 who is set over a people to punish evill doers persecute those
 who doe well, he must expect a fearefull judgment from the
 Almighty, it is pathetically exprest in *Wisdom. 6.* *Hearc there-
 fore O yee Kings, and understand, learne yee that be Judges of
 the ends of the earth. Give care you that rule the people, and
 glory in the multitude of nations. For power is given you of the
 Lord, and soveraignty from the highest, who shall try your works,
 and search out your counsels. Because being ministers of his king-
 domes, you have not judged aright, nor kept the law, nor walked
 after the counsell of God. Horribly and speedily shall he come upon
 you: for a sharpe judgment shall be to them that are in high pla-
 ces. For mercy will soone pardon the meaneest: but mighty men
 shall be mightily tormented. For he which is Lord over all, shall
 feare no mans person: neither shall he stand in awe of any mans
 greatnesse, for he hath made the small and the great, and careth
 for all alike: but a sore triall shall come upon the mighty.*

Thus much is granted, but to conclude from this obligation
 that a not performance induces a forfeiture of his crowne, and
 that we may make hostile resistance against unjust commands,

is a very weake way of reasoning. For consider with your selves; is there not a mutuall duty betweene husoand and wife, parents and children? Fathers must not provoke their children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord *Eph. 6. 4.* Husbands should give honour to their wives as unto the weaker vessells *1 Pet. 3. 7.* Suppose some fathers prove froward, some husbands unkind, yet cannot their faults dispenſe with the duty of children and wives. The King — *Urbi pater est urbiq; maritus* is both husband and father, not to single persons, but to the Commonwealth. There are many resemblances in matrimony which will afford great light to the better understanding the duty of Subjects. The consent of the woman makes such a man her husband, so the consent of the people is now necessary to the making Kings (for conquest is but a kind of ravishing, which many times prepares the way to a wedding, as the Sabine women chose rather to be wives, then concubines, and most people preferre the condition of Subjects though under hard lawes to that of slaves) If we apply their arguments their Sophistry will clearely appeare. For *Quicquid efficit tale, est magis tale, and constituens est major constituto*, beflowes upon women the breeches, as well as the Crowne upon the people, and *unumquodque eadem potestate dissolvitur, quâ constituitur*, gives the same licence to a woman to cast of the bonds of wedlock, as to subjects those of subjection. As in marriage, so in monarchy there are two parties in the contract; though without a mutuall agreement there could be no covenant, yet after it is once made the dissent of the inferiour party, let it be not upon fancyed, but reall discontents, cannot dissolve the compact. Consent therefore joynd man and wife, King and people, but divine ordinance continues this union; marriages and governments both are ratified in heaven. *Quæ Deus conjunxit, homo ne separet*, whom God hath joyned, let not man put asunder; They must take their King for better for worse. It is very observable though it was permitted to the man in some cases, to give a bill of divorce, yet this licence was never allowed to women; so fathers might abdicate their children, not they their fathers, women cannot unmarry, nor the
 P a people

people unsubject themselves. If any shall mistake with the disciples, if the case be so, it is good not to marry, it is good to live without a King; they ought to consider that God is wiser then they, and best knows how to order things for the good of mankind.

That I may (if it be possible) undeceive the misled multitude; I shall grant if a people choose one man, and bestow the name of King upon him, yet if they retaine the supream power in themselves, and expresse it by making a law that in case he shall do such and such things, he shall forfeit his right to governe, then it is very lawfull to depose him upon breach of such conditions. For then this state is a Democracy, and the legall power is in the people. Such a case is very possible, for if the royall line in any Kingdome should faile, & there want one descended from his loynes to sit upon the throan, then, as a woman after the death of her husband is free to marry to whom she will in the Lord, so the people may make what government they please, they may call one King, and place their Ephori or Demarchi and tribunes over him. It is not materiall that this is not so wise a government, for it is not prudence, but such a consent, not the understanding, but the will of the people that constitutes the forme, In such a state hostile resistance against him (though called King) may be a just warre, because the law enables them to fight, and the Prince may be a rebell and Traytour.

Let them prove that *England* is no monarchy; that they are not bound to beare true alleagiance by a necessary obligation flowing from the civill constitutions of this realme; that they may lawfully kill him, whose life they have sworne to defend with their utmost power, let them produce any law which gives power to English Subjects to traine, array, muster without the Kings authority, that I may not say against his expresse command, and to the end they may destroy him; when they have done this and confuted their oathes of *supremacy* and *fidelity*, and made it appeare to the world they were forsworne, I will cease to presse them with that of *S^t Paul*, *you must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience*. I will then direct

direct my speech to the King, and endeavour to perswade him to submit to the People, *under whom* he governs. But since they doe not so much as pretend any law but justify their Rebellion only by (that word farall to this Kingdome) necessity, and lay downe a Principall, fit to disturbe the peace of all nations, that when dangers threaten, lawes must give place to discretion, and the subjects birthright, liberty and property must be sacrificed to a few ambitious *mensragioni disfatto*: I thinke I am bound in charity to admonish them in what a desperate condition they are. *Those who resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.* All that they gaine by manning the ruine of their Country, will not countervail the losse of their soules. I remember the saying of the prophet. *The prudent shall keepe silence in that time, for it is an evill time.* Amos. 5. 13. But I value not safety, in comparision of honest (though weake) endeavours to do service to the publike.

Some state it thus; elective Kingdomes are subject to forfeiture but not successive. These men give but small satisfaction, because they build upon a very unsound foundation. For succession is no enlargement of right, but only a continuance of that which the first had; elective Kingdomes are not forfeitable, except there be some expresse law, which places a power in the people to rule their King, and governe their governour. It is plaine, the Roman Emperors though chosen, were absolute: and successive Kingdomes, if there be any such expresse law are forfeitable; it is as plaine, the Spartan Kings, who were hereditary, might be legally deposed in some cases.

• The unlawfulness of hostile resistance against the King of England is supported by a surer foundation, *viz.* the knowne Lawes of this Realme strengthened by divine ordinance: the necessity of our allegiance is demonstrable from the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome. I shall onely desire my readers to consider the nature of this government, and they must evidently discern, to fight against the King is Treason and Rebellion.

I will lay downe nothing, but what sober men shall have as little reason to doubt of, as to beleieve, that the King was de-

spis'd and scorn'd, in order to be made glorious, and that they endeavoured to kill him in order to his preservation. So at *Edge-hill*, but before they were more cruell, and reserved for him something worse then death, to live under their command; *Instrumentum servitutis, haberent Regem*, they would make him the unhappy instrument, to raise them to honours in the ruine of his good Subjects. The Duke of *Normandy* invaded *England* with a potent Army, and made himselfe King; what our Lawes were under the *Danes* or *Saxons* (by whom wee were likewise conquered) doth not much concerne us to examine, (no more indeed then it doth to know the ancient *Brittish* Lawes and Priviledges, which were taken away by them, and the true owners were beaten out of their rightfull possessions and inheritances) for he inverted the Government, altered the Lawes, disposed of Possessions to his *Norman* followers, (whose blood runnes in the veines of our most ancient Gentry) and made all, as well *English* as his native Subjects, feudaries to him, so that he remained *Directus dominus, Lord Paramount*, or *overlord* in the whole Land; that we may make no scruple of this truth, the Lawes given us by him, and which we are to live by now, are written in his language. However we state his entrance, whether by the sword, or to avoid the envy of that title, by a voluntary submission of all to him, as to their Sovereigne; the conclusion cannot vary, because the duty of *non-resistance* arises from their owne act, they taking an oath to be his true and loyall Subjects. It is objected, *If he came in by force, he may be turned out by the same title. De jure* he cannot; in this case, *Quod fieri non debuit, factum valet*; for though conquest be a name of greater strength onely, and be not it selfe a right, yet it is the mother of it. Because when the people are in their power, for feare of harder usage, they passe their consent to be his faithfull Subjects, and to be peaceably governed by such Lawes, as he shall, or hath given them: This subsequnt Act gives him a full right to the Crowne. To speak to the present case, he for his owne security, and because it was the necessary meanes to enable him to protect his Subjects, retains the right to dispose the *Militia* of the Kingdome, which

continued

continued in his Successours even to this day (though now violently invaded by Subjects through vertue of an *Ordinance*, of which no times can afford a president) and all Subjects of what condition soever, were bound to doe *homage*, and beare *fealty* to him, which was inconsistent with taking up Armes against him. That he might sweeten their subjection, *Quadam jura pactis minuit*, he restraines his absolute right by compact, & be- stows some liberties & some priviledges upon the people (who commonly *nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem*) and these Acts of Grace he confirms unto them by such security as should not endanger his person nor regall authority, that is, by promise and oath, and not by giving to his Subjects legall power to un king him, if he should not performe covenant; knowing full well, that though hee should not really breake it, yet a pretence he did so, might upon the first opportunity create a civill warre; (and therefore his Subjects had as little reason to accept, as he to offer so pernicious security, as would put both parties in farre worse condition) for if Rebellion should be allowed in any case, that case would be alwayes pretended, and though the Prince were just, and wise, and religious, yet ambitious men to compasse their owne ends, would impute to him oppression, weakenesse, and that notwithstanding his exemplary practise in his publique devotions to the contrary, he did but handsomely dissemble, and favoured a false religion in his heart.

The method of that Rebellion in the reigne of *Henry* the third, which made *France* extreamely miserable, is very observable. A factious party of the Nobility and Gentry, a seditious party of the Clergy, and an-unfortunate party of the seduced Commonalty, entred into a *holy league* against their lawfull Sovereigne, upon pretence he was misled by evill Counsellors, and favoured the reformed doctrine, notwithstanding he was even superstitiously strict in his devotions, in conformity to what the *Roman* Church enjoyned. When potent Armies were raised, ready to swallow him up, yet out of a vehement desire to undeceive his people, and to discover to the whole world the ungrounded malice of his adversaries in such unreasonable

sonable imputations, he refused the honest assistance of faithfull Subjects, because Protestants, to his owne and their probable destruction.

Many of King *Williams* Successors did inlarge the Subjects Priviledges by divers Acts of Grace, which they swore to maintaine, but never gave them such security as should alter the nature of Monarchy, by granting authority to their Subjects to force them to observe promises, and to make satisfaction for *true or fancied* violations.

Hence it appeares, that the originall was conquest (as it is of almost all the Kingdomes in the world) which occasionally conveyed to him full right, because they yielded themselves, and consequently what they had to the Victor; the Lawes which he or after Princes made for the benefit of the Subject, were severall limitations of this right, and therefore where Lawes cannot be produced to the contrary, there the Kings power is absolute, and no speciall cases can be determined by the Subject to the Kings disadvantage. The moderation of his power was by his owne compact, which he could not violate without injustice, yet the breach of it could not indanger his personall safety, because he gave no jurisdiction to his Subjects to force him by strong hand to doe them right; and if he had done so, he had made himselfe in such cases their subject. What ever we can claime as due now, is by vertue of the Kings grant, and therefore it is said by *Hen. 3^d*, in his ratification of the great Charter, *We have granted and given to all the free-men of our Realme these liberties. 9. H. 3.* The whole Land was the Conquerours, he gave part of it as a reward for their service to his *Normans*, and other parts to the ancient Inhabitants, and made their heires after them, yet so as he altered the tenure, and made it descend with such burdens, as he pleased to lay upon them: They hold them but in *fee*, and therefore are bound to certaine services, and to doe such and such duties upon paine of forfeiture; in case of Treason and Rebellion their lands are his owne againe, and returne into his disposall. If Subjects breake their Covenant and prove dissyll, all their rights are forfeited by expresse Law; if Kings breake their compact, no forfeiture followes:

followes: The reason of this inequality is, because the King gave Law to the Subject, the Subject did not give Law to him.

Another exception is, *If a King exercising tyranny over his people, may not be resisted, he and his followers may destroy the Kingdom.*

Exc.

Ans.

This is easily satisfied, if we consider in what condition we were when conquer'd, and how that to avoid a certaine ruine (for he might have rooted us out for his better security, and planted this Land with his native Subjects) we submitted to an onely not impossible, that is, a most extremely improbable destruction. For it is an unheard of madnesse, that a King should be such an enemy to his owne interests; It is in our power to kill our selves, and yet we are not affraid of our selves, because there is a naturall dearenesse implanted in us, which secures every one from selfe-wrong: we have as little cause to be troubled, that it is in his power to make himselfe no King, by destroying his Subjects; The King perishes in the ruine of his people, and the man onely survives, exposed to the hatred and scorne, and revenge of mankind. *Sint quis imperes*, is a strong antidote against this unreasonable feare. Secondly, no policy can give an absolute security; we must trust some body, by which a way lyes open to a possible mischief, but many most probable and certaine inconveniences are thereby avoided. Thirdly, we have good grounds to rely upon divine providence, if we doe our duty; for the hearts of Kings are in the hand of the Lord, he will put a hooke into the nostrils of Tyrants, and though we may be chastised for a tryall of our patience, or punished for our sinnes, yet he will not permit them to bruise his children to pieces.

We are bound by the naturall affection we owe to our Country to be active in restoring it to happinesse, by removing such a curse from the land.

Exc.

Ans.

We must not doe evil, that good may come of it. Some reply, this precept obliges private men. not Magistrates; especially aiming at not any particular, but the publique good; a pious intention to advance this, excuses from sin. Certainly it will

concerne

concerue all such as meane to goe to heaven; they may as well tell us, Magistrates may lawfully steale, or commit adultery, if they sin for the Common wealth, that is, plunder in hopes to finde letters amongst malignant goods, or lie with other mens wives, to unlocke their breſts, and discover such secrets, whereby they may more easily cut their husbands throats, as being in their Catalogue of evill counsellours or enemies to the State: They may aswell challenge a Priviledge to breake all the Commandements for the Saints advantage. If then we may not doe evill, though we propose a reall good as the fruite of sin, certainly those, whom divine ordinance commands to be subject, cannot usurpe office and rule, and take upon them to judge their Judges. If revenge be unlawfull in private men acted upon private men, how much is it a higher sinne, upon the Magistrate? By whom alone Christians can right themselves, and therefore their hands are bound from being used against him.

Exc.

Answ.

Selfe preservation is justifiable by the law of nature.

I grant this; hands were given to men for this purpose. This right to defend our selves flows from hence, that by an inbred affection every one is most deare to himselfe, and it doth not alwayes presuppose a fault in those who endanger our lives. For if they set upon mee, mistaking mee for another man, who hath injur'd them, or if they are lunatique, I am no more bound naturally to give up my life to madnesse or error, then to the ravenous fury of wolves or lions. It is very truly determined by the civil law in reference to nature, *Jure hoc evenit, ut quod quisque ob tutelam corporis sui fecerit, jure fecisse existimetur. L. ut vim. D. de just. & jur.* But this will nothing advantage them in the present case. For by that which they call *Law* of nature is meant onely *right* of nature, which is not a command, but a permission onely, and therefore it may be, and indeed it is actually restrained by positive constitutions, whether divine or civill. For example, all things were common *jure naturalis*, by the right of nature, and yet the lawes of property are now binding to us. Hence is discovered the hollownesse of their discourſes upon this principle. *It is the most naturall worke in the world for every thing to preserve it selfe, and therefore when a Common-wealth*

wealth shall choose a Prince or a State officer, though they trust him with their welfare, then that act of their trust is but by positive law, and therefore cannot destroy the naturall law, which is selfe preservation, cum humana potestas (supra) ius natura non existit, seeing that no humane power is above the law of nature. So Master Bridge in his wounded conscience, p. 2. Upon the same principle he must conclude, Society, which was regulated by the pactions of men, cannot take away our native liberty. For *jure naturalis omnes homines ab initio liberi nascebantur*. *insti. de just. & in. t. 2. §. 5.* nor can property which was established by positive agreement destroy the right of naturall community. He must needs perceive the weakenesse of his reasoning. The answer to it is this, Humane power is not above the law of nature peremptorily commanding to doe such a thing, and abstaine from such things (of this law Cicero spake, *hec lex diffusa est in omnes, est sempiterna, a qua homines neq; per senatum, neq; per populum possunt solui & liberari*. l. 3. de Rep. and Ovid makes it unalterable.

Naturam vero appello, legem omnipotentis

Supremi q; patris, quam primâ ab origine rerum.

Cunctis imposuit rebus, jussit q; teneri

Inviolabiliter.)

But humane power is above the law or rather the right of nature, which doth permit a freedome of doing or not doing according to discretion. Else no contracts could be of force, because by the law of nature men were free, and the obligation is positive, as arising from promise, which it was in our power not to make, but having once made it, we have tied our hands from using native liberty. Of this permissive law Aristotle spake pol. 7. cap. 13. *Homines adductos ratione multa prater mores & naturam agere, si aliter agi melius esse sibi persuaserint* and againe, some things of nature depend upon our choyse and cease to be of force, when we please, to part with our naturall rights, not all things. *παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ δέει τὸ ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιτὸν ὁ μὲν τοῦ πᾶν*, Ethic l. 3. cap. 7.

Secondly it concludes it lawfull for any private man to kill the King or his owne Father, in his owne defence, which most of that side have disavowed, and therefore they must acknowledge

ledge this argument is very hollow.

For the clearer understanding of the controversy, because I take no delight in confuting, but onely in the hopes of satisfying them and I request them for their owne sakes, to weigh my reasons with the same moderation, and calmenesse, wherewith they are written: Selfe preservation is naturall, that is. Nature doth not forbid any man to defend himselfe, though he must thereby kill another; his destruction was not primarily intended but he was forced to make use of such unfortunate meanes, in pursuance of no dishonest end, to retaine his owne right of living. But though nature doth not forbid it, yet the Gospell doth, as it restraines us of many innocent delights, if we measure them onely by naturall right. Private revenge is unanswerably prohibited by the Evangelicall law; Recompence to no man evill for evill; dearly beloved avenge not your selves, but rather give place unto wrath. *μη δαυτεδικδικετε*, it is not lawfull to right your selves, to doe your selves justice. *Rom. 12.* The strongest objection against it, which can be made, is, that we are not bound to love our neighbour better then our selves, therefore we may rather Kill then be Killed. (I speake onely against private revenge that is an execution of justice not commanded by law, for we may be bound, not to part with our lives, if the Common-wealth armes us, and injoynes us to defend our selves, because the preservation of the State is concerned in our safety, in that case. *Savitia est voluisse mori*—)

Obj.

Ans.

I deny the argument; the antecedent is very true, but the consequence infirme, because we do not love him above our selves, though We part with our lives, rather then destroy him; For we shall thereby gaine eternall life, if we doe not contrary to the rules of charity, cut him off in his sinne, which will certainly damne him. If any make scruple, that them selves are sinners too, and so unprepared to dye, and therefore (as good reason they have) they may refuse to be damned, onely to leave their enemy in a possibility of being saved. These feares may easily be solved; Greater charity then this hath no man, then to lay down his life for his enemy, and it were very strange, if men should go to hell with as great charity, as the highest Saints are rewarded with

with heaven for. Perfect charity is the fulfilling of the law, and as effectual as universall obedience to Christs precepts, the condition of the Gospell. To resigne our lives, (that is, the capacity of serving God longer) out of conscience to obey him though against the strongest temptation, is such an heroicall act, that the excellency of it, may supply the want of duration. It is an infallible signe of hearty repentance, and a most certaine argument of our serious turning from all sinne. For here is not onely godly sorrow for offences past, which is the doore and entrance into Christianity, but the perfection of it also, amendment of life, which is true repentance. For we sacrifice the pleasures and profits of this world, and what ever was deare untous, while we remained carnall, nay we yeild up life it selfe against the most violent assault, the flesh can make, to the will of God, who assures that to dye thus, is gaine, as also, whosoever will save his life, shall loose it, and whosoever will loose his life for my sake, shall finde it. For these reasons private revenge is unlawfull though upon private men, and therefore much more hath Christ disarmed us, from recompencing evill to the Magistrate, because there is some equality betweene mine and my neighbours life, but publique tranquillity, the common peace of a whole Kingdome (which is destroyed by civill warre) and the life of a single man, though innocent, are very unequall. Naturally we love society below our selves, for the end of it was to convey to us such and such goods, and that which is loved in order to something else, is lesse amiable; But morally and in Christianity we are bound to preferre the publique good to whatever private Interest. And the obligation is very reasonable; For if we submit nature to religion, and be content to loose our lives for the present, we shall receive them hereafter with great advantage. So that charity to our neighbour and love of our selves doe sweetly kisse each other.

It is lawfull to resist in Gods behalfe, and to preserve the true Exe Religion; and so compasse the peace of Hierusalem by disturbing that of Babylon.

Certainely never any man made great improvement of his *Ans.*
owne religion by raising Civill Warre, and Sedition and Rebellion,

bellion are very unfit meanes to beget devotion in the hearts of others ; this way is so unlikely to attaine to perfect godlinesse, that I am much afraid, by the unspeakable scandall of these not-christian courses, it destroyes even common honesty amongst men. Since the time of these unnaturall distractions, there hath beene a generall ebbe in our devotion,

*Ex illo fluere, & retro sublapsa referri
Res Celi*

Some with *Nadab* and *Abihu* offer strange fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not ; God in his good time may quench these flames, which sensibly consume both Church and State, and the unhappy incendiaries may be devoured in that fire, which themselves have kindled. Others are not at leisure to offer up the ordinary incense of prayer and thanksgiving, (though too many have been over gratefull, and when beaten in the field, they have triumph'd in the Church, and instituted solemne praises for the Almightyes preserving their party, in such a sense as they endeavoured to preserve their Sovereigne) If any time be spared to make their addresses to Heaven, their usuall voyce is as harsh in Gods eares as the drumme and trumper, for he is generally invoked as the Lord of Hosts, who takes greater delight to be worshipped as the God of peace. Mutuall feares and mutuall injuries have so exasperated the minds of most men, that the defection from charity is much more common then that from allegiance. So that how religion thrives, be you judges ; I am certaine there is a great decay of godlinesse.

But to examine this colour of *preservation of true Religion.*]

First all the *Anabaptists* and *Brownists* and other Sectaries, who beleve us Idolaters forusing the signe of the Crosse in Baptisme, & all such as joyne with them in fighting against the booke of Common-prayer and Episcopacy, established by the fundamentall lawes of this Kingdome, are evidently ingaged in this Rebellion, not for defence of their old Religion, but to introduce a better and new Creed. Let me aske them, with what face they can hereafter object to Papists that their Religion is Rebellion, who may justifie rising up in armes against their
their

their lawfull Sovereigne, for the Catholique cause, upon these Puritan principles. The truth is, not all Jesuites doe maintaine it, and many Papists abhorre this seditious doctrine, agreeing with *Roffensis*, that *sicut evangelium non dat regnum, sic nec auferre potest, lib. de potest. pape in tempor.* Christ came not to dispose of Kingdomes, nor to make them subject to forfeiture. The University of *Paris* hath very christianly determined it, *seditiosum, impium, ac hereticum, quocunque quæsito colore, à quocunque subdito, vassallo aut extraneo, sacris regum ac principum personis vim habere*, a seditious, impious, and hereticall thing, for any Subject, Vassall, or forreigner, upon what pretexts or colour soever, to offer violence to the sacred persons of Kings and Princes, in their censure past, *June* the 4th, 1610.

A more dangerous tenent for turning States upside downe, and bringing all to confusion, was never invented then this, that *Regnum fundatur in orthodoxa Religione, Subjects may cast from of their neck the royall yoke, if he will not submit to the yoke of Christ.* Their late Pamphlets speak out and tell us plainly, the *quarrel is, whether Jesus shall be King.* By this meanes those who manage *Christs scepter*, will command the *Kings*, and he must lay downe his *Crown* before the *Presbyters.* They have another principle nearely allyed to this, which hath too great influence upon their practice, *Dominium fundatur in gratiâ*, only the Saints, Gods elect, have right to the creature: wicked men and reprobates doe but usurpe the portion of the godly, and thereby increase their owne damnation, for they are the true heires, for our Saviour bestowed all upon them, *The meeke shall inherit the earth.* When wee think they plunder, they doe but distreine upon their owne goods; it is a recovery of what was due to them by the Gospell; to measure right by *lawes* is but to breake *evangelicall priviledges*: It is not theft, but charity, to put the wicked in such a condition, as that they shall have lesse to answer for. If men of these opinions be tolerated, both reason and experience shew the peace of the realme is apparently endangered.

Secondly, as it is unlawfull (and some of their owne writers confesse thus much, see Master *Burroughs*, pag. 123.) to fight

fight for Religion if the Lawes of the Land be against it, (yet this is clearly their case, for they goe the destructive way, and would root out part of the established worship, though very much hath beene indulged to tender consciences even in this case) so it is against the civill constitutions of this Realme, and consequently against divine ordinance to take up armes against their King, though he should really favour another Religion, and countenance by his practice superstitious rites; nay, though the professors of the true and settled religion should be illegally grieved. Here were an opportunity to shew their christian fortitude, to make use of their *spirituall militia*, faith, humility, and patience, and not to contradict their calling, and discredit the crosse of our Saviour by taking up carnall weapons. I wish from my soule, all such as pretend to the Reformed Protestant Religion, had beene unblamable in this respect, and that they had rather chosen to manifest their christian, then their martiall spirit. Wherever armes have beene lifted up against their lawfull Magistrates, though they were unjustly afflicted for the testimony of a good conscience, I cannot excuse them from resisting the ordinance of God, who would have beene glorified in their martyrdom. I am sorry to meet with objections drawne from the unwarrantable practise of some, which doe not conclude you innocent, but that others were likewise faulty. I am certaine the primitive Christians were better catechised, and wee read the same doctrine of true patience in their lives as in their schooles, which taught them to take up Christs crosse, and to follow him in that yoke in which he drew; They fought not against their Arrian Emperours in defence of the Nicene Creed; no rebellion was undertaken by them under colour of preventing their consciences from being forced: which is indeed an impossible thing; we may be robbed of our goods, we cannot be plundered of our religion. Did not Christianity thrive upon persecutions? *Sanguis martyrū, semen ecclesia*, The blood of the Saints made their surviving brethren fruitfull in good workes. Their patience wearied the cruelty of their adversaries and gained innumerable converts, who began to suspect christianity was true, when they saw it

so powerfull as to make the professors live with so much innocence, and dye with so great meekenesse, and to neglect all earthly interests in expectation of Heaven.

Though private men should not, yet *Inferior Magistratus Exec. may force him who hath the Supream power, to rule according to justice and the established Lawes.*

The same reason which disables private men from righting themselves, concludes likewise against inferior Magistrates, that is, want of Jurisdiction. For if opposed to him, whose authority only can alter the nature of revenge, and make it justice, (for *inferior in superiorem non habet imperium*) they are but private persons. It is an unreasonable, impossible thing, that men should be obliged to obey two Masters commanding contrary duties, because this would impose upon them a necessity of sinning, which must be layd upon him who was the author of that necessity; And therefore God hath appointed a convenient subordination in all authorities. *Ut sol delet minora sydera*, as the lesser lights are extinguishd by the greatest Luminary, the fountaine of all light; so minor jurisdictions must give place to him who is the fountaine of justice. If God command one thing, the King another, wee must be obedient to divine ordinance, because wee cannot be subject to mans command for conscience sake, against him who hath the sole authority to oblige conscience. So if the King command one thing, and his Ministers, inferior Magistrates another, wee must submit to regall power either by obeying, or suffering, because they can challenge our obedience onely by virtue of his authority, and this cannot be set up in an hostile way against his person. Whether it be reasonable to obey the Kings Officers, who can doe nothing but in his name, against the King, judge yee. Souldiers are bound to execute the commands of their Captaine, yet not if they are contradicted by their Colonell, and he must not be obeyed against an expresse order from the Generall. In thus doing, S^r *Augustine* and reason also assure us, wee despise not the power, but choose to submit to the higher; lesser Magistrates have no just grounds of complaint, if we preferre the supreme, for in reference to the highest, their magistracy ceases, and they

they become our fellow Subjects. *Let every soule be subject to the higher powers* saith Saint Paul. We must obey the King, and His Officers also, as they represent the King, (for *quod per officarios facit per se facere videtur*) and they must be obedient as well as wee, as they represent Subjects. Thus *Nehemiah* receiving commission from *Artaxerxes*, armed his countrymen against those who governed under the King. Saint Peter very appositely differences this duty in respect of King and Magistrates. *Submit your selves unto the King as Supreme, but unto Governours as unto them, that are sent by him, and derive their power from him, and are His Ministers to execute His commands,* 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.

Exc.

It is objected, (but very impertinently) if a King command against established Lawes, and inferior Magistrates according to the Law, they ought to be obeyed.

Answ.

This comes not home to the case; I grant, obedience to the Kings command against law, is unwarrantable; but this doth not conclude the lawfulness of hostile resistance. Wee doe our duty in submitting to His legall will, though against his Letters or words of mouth, for he hath obliged us so to doe, and by his owne grant hath restrained his right to recall and abrogate Lawes, except by advice and consent of both Houses in Parliament. If He be offended without cause, we are bound by christian and civill constitutions to submit though to His unjust wrath. If they meane to conclude their owne innocence, they must frame their Argument thus: If a King command against Law, and Magistrates resist according to Law, wee may without guilt take part with them. This is true if they resist according to Law; but this cannot be in a Monarchy; for if the Lawes grant a right of resistance in any case, when that case comes, the Monarchy is dissolved, for those who are enabled to take up armes against Him, are His equals or colleagues at least; the union is destroyed, and they are not to be esteemed Rebels then, but just enemies, because they cease to be Subjects. They cannot vindicate themselves from Treason and Rebellion, except they can produce some Law of *England* which dispenses with their Allegiance in such cases, and shew that our civill constitu-

constitutions are so framed, as to make *Bellum Civile, Bellum utrinque justum*, a Civill Warre, a just Warre of both sides in the law notion, which cannot be, except there be two supreme authorities to proclaime and manage it. That this is not so, the Houses shall give testimony against themselves, for they acknowledge themselves in their addresses to His Majesty, His humble and loyall Subjects assembled in Parliament.

Another maine exception, and which they most triumph in, *Exc.* is this, (I will deliver the words of one of them, who hath expressed it the most fully) *As it is a Parliament, it is the highest Court of Justice in the Kingdome, therefore hath power to send for by force, those that are accused before them, that they may come to their triall, which (if I mistake not) power inferior Courts have, much more the highest.* 'Tis out of doubt agreed on by all, that the Parliament hath a power to send a Serjeant at Armes to bring up such an one as is accused before them, and if they have power to send one Serjeant at Armes, then twenty, if twenty be accused, and then a hundred, then a thousand, then ten thousand, if ten thousand be accused, and so more or lesse as occasion serves; for there is the same reason for two as for one, for a hundred as for twenty, for a thousand as for a hundred, and take away this power from the Parliament, and 'tis no longer a Parliament. But the King and His Forefathers have by Law settled these Liberties of Parliament, and therefore according to Lawes they have a power to send for by force those that are accused to be tryed before them, which they cannot doe, unlesse they raise an Army, when the accused are kept from them by an Army. *Master Bridge in his Wound. confici. pag. 6.*

Answe.

First, the House of Commons is no Court of justice, it hath indeed by speciall priviledge for it's better regulation, power over it's owne members, to imprison or turne out, and this power though at any time abused against justice and equity, and contrary to the trust reposed in them, both by King and people (as if men should be committed for delivering their opinions freely because their reason was not so happy as to concur with the sense of the House, which may possibly be the passions of the major part; or if some should be accused and others past by, though of knowne guilt in the very same particulars, as having

an hand in monopolies &c. and so not the *cause* but the *person*, (he made the measure of right & wrong) yet this misused authority hath the effects of justice and right, & makes the act legally valid. But the House of Commons hath no jurisdiction over those who are without, except at most in case of breach of Priviledge; it cannot judge or condemne any, no not so much as examine upon oath: so that the argument is, the Parliament, that is the House of Lords, as the highest Court of justice, may legally raise an army, without the consent, nay against the command of the King, it concludes too without the consent, and if they please, against the expresse will of the Commons declared to the contrary. This doctrine once since this Parliament sate, would not have been so pleasing to the lower House, that they would have taken care for printing it by Order from their Committee. There was a time when one of this House professed openly, he hoped to see that skie fall too, and the Lords were put in minde, they sate but in personall capacities (whereas Knights were shires, and Burgessees were townes and Cities) and therefore it was thought fit to give them warning and to admonish them to take heed how they thwarted the representative Kingdome.

Secondly, by the same reason Judges of inferiour Courts, out of Parliament at least, may raise an army to fetch in delinquents; if the framers of this objection, had consulted with those Sages, they would have better instructed them in the lawes. In cases of such high consequences, it was the custome of the House of Peeres to advise with these Oracles, to take directions from them, at least to know their opinion and the reasons of it, because they had employed their whole time and studies to finde out the true meaning of the lawes.

Thirdly, To discover their mistake and the inconsequence of the argument, *There is the same reason for twenty as for one, and so for an hundred, for a thousand, for an army, &c.*

The reason is not the same; because when a few are sent out, the administration of justice doth not indanger the common peace. But because a warre doth put the whole Kingdome in manifest perill of being ruined, therefore when either reall delinquents, or pretended to be so, are so many, as to make the tryall doubtfull, the liberty and right of inferiour Magistrates to
fetch

fetch them in by force, is in this case restrained by expresse lawes, which provides very prudently, that no warre shall be made, except authorized by the supream governour. And therefore also the lawes permit the King to pardon all offences against his crowne and dignity, supposing he will doe it, as sometimes out of goodnesse of nature, so sometimes out of the strength of his understanding, because not mercy only, but wisdom and prudence may prevaile with him to forget offenders, when they are so potent, that the uncertaine punishment of nocents, (for the worst cause may prevaile, as in the case of the tribe of *Benjamin*, so

Vilrix causa Deis placuit, sed viستا catoni)

must be bought with the unavoydable destruction of many innocent and gallant persons. Wherefore Serjeants at armes and officers may be sent by the House of Peeres, and consequently by Judges of inferiour Courts, and ordinary Justices, to force delinquents to appearance (though their crime ought to be specified, for to call them malignants or delinquents, is no legall charge) if they be not so many, as that they make such resistance, as cannot be punished without an Army; for a civill warre endangers all, and begets more faults then it punishes, and therefore the lawes referre the ordering of the common-wealth to him who is supreme, least inferiour magistrates violently carried on, should out of indiscreet zeale to justice, expose the Kingdome to contributions, plunderings, and thousand remediless injuries, more greivous then those they seeke to punish.

Warre against the person of the King is not resistance of the higher power, but warre against his authority only. Buchanan right; *Exc.*
Non igitur hic Paulus de iis qui magistratum gerunt, agit, sed de ipso magistratu, h. e. de functione & officio eorum qui aliis præsunt, dual. de iur. reg.

This separation of the officer from the office (which hath created *bella plusquam civilia*, the King in this army fighting against himselfe in the opposite army) is made without all colour or shadow of reason, for though the authority of the King be sometimes where his person is not, yet his person cannot be where his authority is not, This is evident by the 3y. *Edw. 3. c. 2.* *Ans.*

which makes it Treason to compasse the Kings death, by which must be meant to endeavour his personall ruine, because Regall authority never dyes in *England*. I have shewed formerly, that by not resisting powers, is meant, not resisting persons invested with such power. For when Saint *Paul* hath forbid to resist the power, he explaines it by adding a reason drawne from the persons in authority, to encourage them to obedience; *for Rulers are not a terror to good workes, and so after, for they are Gods Ministers*, λειτουργοι in the masculine gender which cannot be applyed to ἑξουσιας, that he might leave no ground of scruple, but plainly instruct us, that honour is due to their persons, and that all resistance to their persons is sinne, because of their authority, Saint *Peter* is as cleare, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him*. Deodate expressees it very fully in his Italian translation, *Siate adunque soggetti ad ogni Podestà criata dagli huomini per l'amor del signore: al Rè, come al sourano, ed a governadori come a persone mandate da lui*. That wee may not mistake he tells us, that by Power or Ordinance is meant *Persons* endued with power ad ogni Podestà, is sayes he in his glosse upon the place, *a Principi, Magistrati, Rettori created by or amongst men, dagli huomini, o fra gli huomini per la conservatione e condotta della società humana*.

Jude when he condemnes despisers of dominion, and such as, διξας βλασφημῶσι, *speake evill of dignities*, v. 8. meanes to commend to us the same duty which *Paul* taught us out of the law, which is free from all ambiguity, and concludes for the persons. When *Ananias* the high Priest, whose duty was to judge after the law, commanded him to be smitten contrary to the law, he (as was supposed by them) in passion returnes ill language, and being justly rebuked by the by-standers, he confesses he ought not to revile the Priest, though he did evidently abuse his authority (much lesse ought he to strike againe, with pretence of honouring his authority, but not being bound to submit to his personall commands contrary to the law. *I wist not brethren that he was the high Priest; for it is written, thou shalt*

Shalt not speake evill of the Ruler of thy people, Ait. 23. 5. S^t Paul was unacquainted with this subtiliry, which allowes to speake evill; nay, to make hostile resistance against men in authority, so they professe to honour the authority of those men. *Is is d'raus, not i'euia, (so Malter Burroughs) his personall strength, not any legall power which is resisted, if he doe any thing against law, and this, sayes he, is not forbidden, we may resist men, though not powers, wee must not be subject to will, but to law. p. 113.*

His mistake lyes in this, that he thinks *i'euia*, power, signifies the right and honest use of authority, whereas it signifies the right to use his authority, whether well or ill, 'tis all one to us for matter of submission to it, either by obedience or patience, because no resistance can be lawfull for want of a superior jurisdiction, by which onely wee can be enabled to call him to an account for his actions. The truth of this is made evident in *Joh. 19. 10, 11. Pilate saith unto him, knowest thou not that i'euia i'xu, I have power to crucifie thee, and i'euia i'xu, I have power to release thee? Jesus grants it, and answers, u' i'xu i'euia is mu, &c. thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.*

By *i'euia*, therefore are meant persons invested with authority. The reason which made *Paul* call Magistrates by the Abstracts, *Powers* was this, he wrote to Christians living in the Roman Empire, and it was the custome of the Latine Language to call persons endued with power, *potestates*, by the name of *powers*. You may observe it in *Ulpian, l. quid sit. D. de Edil. edict. §. 19.* and in *Augustine, epist. 48.* who saith, *sive potestas veritatis favens, aliquem corrigit, laudem habet ex illa, qui fuerit emendatus: sive inimica veritati in aliquem saviat, laudem habet ex illa qui fuerit coronatus.* Mark that, *potestas inimica veritati*, this must needs signifie a man abusing his authority. And in *Juvenal, An Fidenarum, Gabiorumq; esse potestas*, and in *Suetonius, Jurisdictionem de fidei commissis quotannis & tantum in urbe delegari magistratibus solitam, in perpetuum atque etiam per provincias potestatibus delegavit.* The moderne languages, Italian and French, which were bred out of the Latine retain the ancient use of speaking, for *potestat* in French

French and *podeſtà* in Italian, expreſſe not the function onely, but the perſon which manages it. Thus anciently the Latine word for a Juſtice of peace, who now is called *juſtitarius*, was *juſtitia*, as you may find in *Glanv. lib. 2. cap. 6.* and *Roger Hovedens Annals*: ſo our King is called in the abſtract Majelty, as the Grecians Emperours, *ὁ βασιλεύς*.

Many ridiculous conſequences flow from hence, but I liſt not to make ſport with that unhappy diſtinction which hath almoſt ruined as flouriſhing and ſtrongly temperd a Kingdome as any in the Chriſtian world. It expoſes Magiſtrates, and all in authority to the contempt and injuries of the baſer ſort of people. For when diſcontented, it is very obvious for them to tell them a reverence is indeed due to their function, & therefore that they ſetting their *office* aſide, will take liberty only to kick their *perſons*, and that the *Magiſtrate* is not at all affronted, though the *man* be ſoundly beaten. It is againſt common ſenſe to put ſuch a difference betweene the *perſon* and the *authority* of the King, for if it were reall, neither God, nor the Lawes of the Land have made any provision for the Kings ſafety; for His authority is not capable of receiving any benefit, and therefore it muſt be acknowledged by all ſober and reaſonable men, that His authority doth but convey ſuch and ſuch priviledges upon the perſon, who onely can be ſenſible of them, and conſequently whatever is attempted againſt his perſon, is attempted againſt his authority likewise.

Another cavill is taken from theſe words in *Rom. 13.* *For Rulers are not a terror to good workes, but to the evil; wilt thou then not be afraid of the power, doe that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame. For he is the miniſter of God to thee for good.* Their Argument is framed thus, A Magiſtrate is the Miniſter of God for our good, therefore he which is not a Miniſter for our good, is no Magiſtrate, and to reſiſt him, is not to reſiſt the ordinance of God, (which inſtituted Rulers for the peoples happineſſe) but the faults and exorbitances of men, which endeavour to rob them of the bleſſings of divine providence, orderly government, and to make them bow downe under the heavy burdens of an arbitrary ſway. Their conclu-

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tion (contradictory in it selfe) is plainly this, A bad Magistrate is no Magistrate, (as being a terror to good works, and giving praise to the evill, contrary to Saint *Pauls* definition of Rulers,) and therefore no honour is due to him, no resistance is forbidden.

The example of Christ commanding them to pay tribute to *Cæsar*, as his due, the end of which was, that he should mind their good, though he neglected that duty, and his acknowledgement of *Pilates* power or right to judge, though he exercised it to the condemnation of the innocent, and Saint *Pauls* confession, that notwithstanding the high Priest commanded him to be smitten illegally (which in their language was abuse of will, not power) yet hee must not returne ill language, because he was the Ruler, do clearly evince their argument not concluding. *Saul* was a bloody tyrant, hee made the Priests a sacrifice to his cruelty, yet notwithstanding he continued *Gods* anointed. It were easie to instance in many examples, which shew the vices of man making ill use of the power do not voyd the ordinance of God.

Answer.

There are, who answer these places very piously, but, as I think, not altogether to what Saint *Paul* aimed at. Rulers are not a terrour to good workes, and he is the minister of God to thee for good, that is, though they oppresse, may kill innocent men, yet they cannot hurt them; For God will recompence their sufferings, it is *in bonum affligitis*, though *affligentibus in malum*, because all things worke together for good to them that love (that is, are obedient to) God. *Rom. 8.*

It seemes to me more probable, that the scope of the Apostle was to inforce the duty of subjection, pressed in *vers. 1.* by a second reason (for he had urged before, the ordinance of God) drawn from the benefits which will be reaped from Governours. And the motive is, the consideration of that happiness, which wee have reason to promise our selves from the preservation of order, the end of which is publique tranquillity. This is enjoyed under very bad Princes, which will abundantly recompence some particular sufferings, whereas if wee should goe about to right our selves, when power is abused (to

say nothing, that it would alwayes be pretended to be so by ambitious men, who have this advantage, that the common people have but weake judgments in State matters (and yet appeals are especially directed to them, and since our miseries have growne upon us, the contrivance of our calamity was very visible; the fatal arts which ruined this Kingdome were to make the meaner sort of men Judges of Policy, and women generally the Judges of Religion) and they are easily perswaded to reckon misfortunes amongst crimes, and to confound ill intentions with ill successe) If I say wee should take upon us to governe our Governours, because they rule not for our advantage, wee should pull upon our heads much greater mischiefs. Experience shewes, that Kingdomes suffer infinitely more by Civill Warre, then by the most Tyrannicall Princes: If wee call to mind the most vicious King that ever reigned in *England*, wee shall find, though he did injure some particulars, indulging to some inordinate affections against the tenor of Law, yet justice was favoured in the generall, and the greatest part of the Kingdome reaped the fruits of order. Whereas illegall endeavours to force him to amendment, introduce a cessation of all law and justice, and the Subjects will be plundered more in one night then the greatest monopolyes and most unjustifiable taxes of many yeares robb'd them of. The Apostles sense is expressed fully by *Tacitus*, *Ferenda Regum ingenia, neque uisui esse crebras mutationes*. The reason why it is better for a people, though oppressed, to submit with patience even to a Tyrant, is this; if he be put to recover his owne by conquest, and prevaile, he may be tempted (as highly provoked) to rule them with a rod of iron, and to provide for future safety, by utter disabling them to hurt him: but if they get the better, their victory doth but confirme our calamity; wee cannot see any probable end of our unhappy distractions. Because forraigne Princes will certainly afford supplies for recovering his just rights (for it might suddainly be their owne case, and they are bound to it in State interest; that they send not aid sooner, is, because it is for their advantage to have a neighbour Kingdome weakned, but not the Prince ruin'd) and it is
 very

very unlikely he should ever want a very considerable party at home, many out of conscience, more out of discontent and envy towards their fellow Subjects, prosperous treason, endeavouring to restore their injur'd Sovereigne, to his undoubted Rights and Prerogative. So that *England* would be the unhappy scene, where the tragedies of *Germany* would be reacted. But grant a totall extirpation, and that they shall be able to go through with their wicked designe, and not only *branch*, but even *root* Monarchy also (for this is aimed at by some, who feare it may sprout againe, if the stock be left) have wee yet at last any hopes of peace, when wee are so undone by warre, that wee have nothing left to loose but our lives? truly no, then like theeves, when once secure of their booty, we should have thousand differences in dividing the prey, all of them challenging preferments great as their sinnes, and setting such a price upon their wickednesse, as the estates of all honest men will not be able to pay; it is not possible, what they have gotten can be pleasant to them, when they consider much more might be enjoyed, and sadly recollect the inequality of the recompence to the adventure; for their lives were exposed to the danger of the law, their reputation is lost with all good men, and their soules are eternally ruin'd. They would fall out amongst themselves; who was the greatest Traytor, and never yeild precedency in mischiefes, because that is the measure of Sharing. Some would plead, they *contrived*, others, they *acted* the Treason, and thinke a subtile braine should have no priviledge above a couragious heart, it being more easie to fright the people by inventing false dangers, then to lead them on, and make them stand the brunt of true. It is beyond my skill to proportion the wages of sin, & determine, whether the *flye* and *cunning setter* or the *stout thief* can claim greatest share in the spoyle. But commonly the speculatively malicious men are miserably deceived of their expected requitall. For though they set the mischiefes on foot, yet their journey-men, quickly apprehending the mystery, are easily tempted to set up for themselves. It hath beene often scene, that to end such quarrells, he that was head of the conspiracy in reference to the a-

stive part of it, and who had force enough to oppresse a Tyrant, would use the same to establish himselfe their Lord and Master, and his government was so much the more rigid, severe, and miserable, because he was frighted with his owne example upon his predecessor.

This I conceive to be the Apostles sense, that wee must submit even to bad Governours (such they were when he wrote this Epistle) not only out of honesty, but prudence also, because if wee goe about to make them better, wee shall put the Kingdome, and consequently our selves, in farre worse condition.

After this explanation, I will reduce their Argument into forme, that I may thereby give more distinct satisfaction.

Non resistance is forbidden only to the powers ordained of God ;

But powers used tyrannically are not ordained of God, therefore wee are not forbidden to resist them.

The assumption is absolutely false : For though tyranny be not the ordinance of God, yet the power (which is commanded to rule justly, but withall inabled to doe otherwise, for the use is left indifferent in respect not of the Magistrates, but Subjects duty, so that abuse doth not voyd authority, when swerving from lawes) is of divine constitution. The obligation not to resist superiour powers receives not strength from mans justice, nor is it weakned or made null by injustice. *Saul* was Gods anoynted, and *Pilate* had authority from Heaven, notwithstanding the extreame abuse of it. Had the Apostle meant as they endeavour to perswade the world, considering what Governours the Christians then lived under, he had laid downe a doctrine of rebellion, whereas he labours to teach them patience.

Thus much in answer to their objections against what was delivered in the second Section ; I shall now examine their exceptions against what was assumed in the precedent Section,

The King of England hath Supreme power.

Exc.

There is a mixture or coordination in the supremacy, and the English Monarchy is compounded of three coordinate estates.

Ans.

I have shewed before, that a *mixt Monarchy* is a contradiction,

tion, and that by this name can only be meant, a restrained and limited Monarchy, that is, that such a King, though he have Supreme, yet hath not absolute power. By reason of this restraint from his owne grant and positive constitutions, active obedience is not due to his illegall commands, and by reason of his supreme power and sole right to make Warre and Peace, passive obedience is necessary.

Monarchy compounded of three coordinate Estates, in plaine English, speaks this nonsense, the power which one only hath, is in three joyntly and equally.

The ground of this invention, and so much fancied coordination, which our ancient Lawyers never dreamt of, may be this. If they meane by it, that the consent of all three Estates (I will not alter the new manner of expressing this government, but only take notice by the way, that heretofore, that Parliament was taken for an Assembly of the King and the three Estates, and that in all other Kingdomes likewise there are three States, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Commonalty, distinct from the Head) are equally required for transacting such businesses as the King hath obliged himselfe not to doe without them, and that they have the right of a negative voice, wee shall indulge to them the name of *coordination* to two purposes, which are, making new, repealing old lawes, and supplying the Kings necessities, in such proportion as they shall think fitting. These are great democraticall advantages, but include no authority of making hostile resistance against their soveraign, in case he should do contrary to the established laws, These are still in force, till abrogated by joynt consent, and bind his conscience, but he cannot be forced to put them in execution, because he hath no superior in jurisdiction; and he hath no equall in managing *jus gladii*, the materiall sword, which is necessary to distinguish their resistance from rebellion, and give it the title of a just warre. For except they can prove themselves not be His Subjects, I am forced to tell them, if they fight against him, they are by the law of Nations and of this land worthily reputed Rebels, and by divine law they are assured of damnation.

Thus therefore ; the two Houses, or two Estates of Lords and Commons, are not bound to submit their consent to the Kings command in matter of Subsidy, or taking away any ancient Law, if they conceive it disadvantageous to the Commonwealth ; *Par in parem non habet imperium*, in those things in which they are equall, as a father and a sonne being joyned in commission ; in this sense let them be called coordinate. Yet they are subject in all other things, and therefore may not take up armes without his consent, for this is destructive of their alleagiance.

If there be a *coordination* in the supremacy, that is, if the King and Lords and Commons are joyntly the supreme governour, the *correlatum* is wanting, none are left over whom they should Reigne, wee should have a Kingdome without a Subject, because all may challenge a share in soveraignty.

The Parliament not sitting, they will not deny the supremacy to be solely in the King, and certainly by calling His great Councell together, he doth not empty himselfe of any regall power ; it were very strange our lawes should be guilty of such vanity to make a uselesse coordination, for if His rivalls should make any attempts upon His Prerogatives, He can legally dissolve them, (except when he hath past a particular grant for their continuance, and then the enlargement of their time of setting, doth not enlarge their power) and after He hath dismissed the Assembly, (as the right to doe so is unquestionable) then He is Supreme againe, none being left to stand in competition. The cleare businesse is this, all markes of supremacy are in the King, nor is it any Argument of communicating His power, that He restraines Himselfe from exercising some particular acts without consent of Parliament, for it is by vertue of His owne grant, that such after acts shall not be valid. He hath not divided His legislative faculty, but tyed Himselfe from using it, except by the advice and consent of the Peeres, and at the request of the Commons, their rogation must precede His ratification. I shewed this in the Roman Empire likewise, and yet none fancied, an equality between Subjects and the King or Emperour was thereby introduced.

As the *hontesens* of France argued from the denomination of *Peers Francia*, to make them equall with the King, so our incendiaries from *Peeres* and *Comites*, to bring in a *coordination*. whereas it is evident that *Peeres*, referres not to the King, but signifies (as the Persian *ὑπομνημα* mentioned in *Zenophon*) Subjects in the same ranke of honour, and enjoying equall priviledges, one as another. And to make *Comites*, is called by *Lampridius* in *constubernium imperatoria maiestatis asciscere*, our lawyers derive them from having that speciall honour to be in *comitatu regis*, *Suetonius* calls them *comites peregrinationum, expeditionumque Tiberii*. They were of three rankes under the Emperours, *Comites intraconsistorium* were the highest, and in the nature of privy counsellours, but created by the Emperour, the fountaine of all honour, and so not *similes altissimo*, equall to him, though exalted above fellow Subjects.

The brieft is, the frame of government, as it is established by our lawes, clearly condemnes their undertakings, and therefore they have laid such a foundation, as will support the building. For if they can but prove that Parliament men, and those who are stirred up to fight against their Sovereigne, are not the Kings Subjects, they have acquitted them from being Rebels.

We have seene the groundworke, and shall now take the superstructure into due consideration; the whole fabrick is comprised in that axiome so frequently applied to justifie all illegall proceedings. *Coordinata se invicem supplent, Coordinates ought mutually to supply each others failing*, that we may not suffer whether by necessary or voluntary defects, and that the Kingdome may not runne the hazard of being ruined for want of supplementall lawes, and therefore when the King is perverse and will not joyne with them for the common good, they have full authority without him.

This would conclude as strongly for the power of enacting lawes without the King, which the Houses have disclaimed. It is true, this legislative authority is exercised under another name, let the Authors answer for practising what themselves have expressly disallowed. For it is but small satisfaction to the injur'd Subject, to tell them they challenge not a power to make stand-
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ding Lawes, but onely temporary Ordinances: That is, they will take away their estates for the present, and then their votes shall be no longer binding. was not this the reason why such Proclamations are justly accompted grievances, as doe intrench upon the Subjects liberties or property? The Subjects are equally miserable, whither their birthright, the lawes of this land, are overthrown by Royall Proclamations or Ordinances of one or both Houses.

Coordinata se invicem supplent, Coordinates supply each others failings; therefore if one refuse, the other two are enabled to do it without him.

By the same logique, if the King and House of Lords joyne, the consent of the House of Commons is legally supplied, and they may constitute what they please without them. This is the evident doctrine of it, which yet is commanded by the House to be printed. If the King had sayd this, it had beene the greatest breach of Parliamentary priviledges that ever had beene made. Posterity will have no reason to be thankfull to them for disputing themselves out of the right of a negative voyce, onely that they may with some small colour (making use of an accidentall advantage, the major part of those few Lords, which remaine in the House now, joyning with them) take away from the King (what is as much his by law as the crowne he weares) his right to reject any Bill, never questioned by our Ancestors, and it is very strange it should now; Sir Thomas Smith tels us. *quibus princeps derogatum vult, haud pluribus verbis utitur, quam le Roy, aut la Royne s'advisera; quapropterea extincta penitus, abolitaq; censentur. l. 2. c. 3. descript. Ang.* If the Kings deniall did not extinguish them, all those bills, which have slept for many ages, as laid downe by our knowing forefathers out of a necessary modesty and a just valuation of their Soveraignes right, would rise up lawes to the extreame confusion of the present government. And secondly, if his authority must be involved or swallowed up in their votes, if his part in Parliament be the same with the flatterers in the comedy, *Au, aio, nego, nego*; if he be but a *State echo*, it is manifest he hath not so great a hand in the managery of his Kingdome, as the meanest fellow

fellow, who hath but 40^s *per annum* freehold, for he governe
 by proxy, whereas the King is represented by none, and yet must
 not speake for himselfe and for his owne Interest, which is alto-
 gether the same with the publique. The greatest security the
 Subject hath, that equall lawes shall be preserved, is from his ne-
 gative voyce. The interests of the major part in the House of
 Commons may be opposite to the good of the Kingdome in ge-
 nerall. For if we reckon those many that serve for, and are (or
 would be, in future elections, if the power were thus enabled to
 effect what ever advantageous designs) of Corporations, and
 those few in comparison, who serve for Shires, we shall easily
 beleewe, the priviledges of Cities and Townes, may be enlarged
 by them to the great discouragement and losse of the honest far-
 mer and painefull husbandman; So the Burgeses for the West
 are so many, that upon an unanimous conspiracy amongst them-
 selves, and labouring some single persons, who may be easily
 wonne out of relation of acquaintance, friends, or kinsmen, or
 their inadvertency, and not fully weighing, or not understanding
 the consequences of it, they may easily carry by vote, what is ve-
 ry beneficiall to themselves, though extremely prejudiciall to
 the other parts of this Kingdome.

To goe higher, it is very easy to conceive, that the major part
 of the lower House, may be very meane men chesen to make
 more profitable lawes for the poorer sort, and to keepe the Gen-
 try under by laying subsidies and all burdens of the Common-
 wealth upon them, not without a specious pretence, that they
 spend more in superfluities then would discharge all publique
 expenses, and exempting themselves from all payments, as being
 such, who take great paines, and worke very hard, even for neces-
 saries. The possibility of such a choise is apparent, because (con-
 sidering how small meanes are required to a capacity of voting
 in the election of Parliament men) (it may perhaps be more wa-
 rily ordered hereafter by the wisdom of that great Court, who
 may thinke it fit to raise 40^s *per annum* freehold to such a pro-
 portion as that estate was valuable at, in the first constitution,
 when the scarcity of money made it a competent fortune) the
 greater part of those which choose them are poore contry-men

and beggarly tradesmen. Such a choise then is very possible, neither is it improbable, if Parliaments shall be governed by these new principles. For the reason why such an election was never yet made, is this, such a power was never heretofore challenged, as could enable them to goe through with any such designe. If either the Lords perceived any motion from the Commons disadvantageous to themselves, or the King thought it prejudiciall to the publique, and so necessarily unprofitable for him (as if the merchant should be discouraged, by laying too great burdens upon forraigne trade, or the Clergy impoverished, by taking away those meanes which should make men able, and keep them honest) it was presently rejected, and so not to be stickled in further, sitting that Parliament. If some factious spirits wrought upon their discontents, and perswaded them to passe nothing, whether by granting subsidies, or consenting to new lawes, which might be beneficiall for the present State, till they received satisfaction in their desires, though such a perversnesse (which I suppose onely and doe not say it ever was) might be very unhappy for the Kingdome (for by making the King poor, it would probably put his friends upon some unwarrantable courses, whereby to supply his wants, and this would create a misunderstanding betweene him and his people, and breed ill humours, which fomented by crafty men, would breake out in such violent distempers, that there would be a necessity of calling phisitians; These politique phisitians when once entertained in such an extremity, will be sure so to manage the disease, that they will be paid as much as they please to demand. They will desire such offices, such commands, not for themselves, but onely in order to the recovery of their patients; The deniall of which shall put the people in danger of a relapic, and they will prescribe the wayes of prevention and make use of the impatience of distempered men, to compass their owne ends) though I say, such a fullennesse would make the Kingdome miserable, yet it is their right to deny the most reasonable proposall, and there is not any legall remedy against inconveniences, which will certainly flow from hence. Neither necessity nor *propterea quod regnum nostrum periclitatur*, which is the same with *salu*

Im populi suprema lex, can enable the King justly to provide for the Kingdomes safety, by raising money against the known Lawes: he may in this case dissolve the assembly, and onely use such means, as are not contrary to Law. By reason of these negative voices, and the Kings right, as to call together, so to breake up that great councill, there was not any hope of new moulding this State to particular Interesses, and therefore these unequall compositions of the House of Commons had no influence to the disadvantage of the Commonwealth. Yet now wee may probably suffer under them, if this new doctrine take place, That the Kings consent is past, and involved in the Lords and Commons; for the next rub of the Lords negative is removable by the same Logicke of *coordinata se supplens*, and that the people may not perish for defect of a supplementall Law; it was essayed formerly, that they sitting in personall capacities, should not oppose what conduced to the safety of the Kingdome, represented by the Commons, and those two grounds being laid, as the King and Lords are voted out of Parliament, so it is very probable, the Gentry would be but very thinne in the House of Commons, upon new election hereafter, because the disposall of all would be put into their hands, whose interests are most disjoyned from the publique tranquility, as enjoying least by the present establishment in this State. From hence it is apparent, what confusion were likely to follow, and the short experience we have had, hath already too fully acquainted us with the miserable consequences.

To answer distinctly to their axiome coordinates supply each others failing; if it should be understood in that sense, which they plead for, that the King failing to performe his duty, the Lords and Commons are enabled to transact busineses without him by vertue of this rule, upon the very same grounds the King and House of Commons may exclude the Lords, the King and Lords may exclude the Commons; but this being destructive of the fundamentall priviledge and right of either House, this onely can be meant by it in the present case, that the power of any one or two of them, is defective to some purposes expressly named in our lawes, (as for enacting new lawes, or raising money upon the Subject) without a joint consent of all three. This interpretation is very reasonable, but it

concludes against them, and for the King; for he requires nothing, but (what our Lawes grant him, and what he alwaies acknowledged equally their due) a right to a negative voice in those things to which the three estates are coordinate. The use of it cannot be injurious, for a denial to bring in a new government, doth not take away the old, it leaves us in that happinesse, which our Fathers were content with.

All other matters (wherein the exercise of His supreme power is not restrained, by making their consent a necessary condition, without which it cannot be actuated) he may manage solely, as for instance, he may, and ought to protect His Subjects, and to make use of those meanes with which the law hath invested him to enable him to compasse that end, and these are the *Militia* or armes of the Kingdome.

Exc. *The King though he be singulis major, yet he is universis minor.* I am forced to take notice in the first place of that lamentable sophistry, which yet hath deceived many, & though it hath bin often discovered, they still persist to abuse the people with it. The strength of all their discourses depends upon this syllogisme, the Parliament is greater then the King, (the assumption is built upon a false foundation, The two Houses are the Parliament. *Ergo*, the two Houses are greater then the King.

The proposition is granted, because Parliament includes King and Lords and Commons, and his legislative power, as to the use of it, is so restrained, that it cannot be legally exercised without their consent, and this obtained in Parliament, it becomes absolute to those purposes, to which they passe their assent. 25. H. 8. 21. So that the onely meaning is, he can do more in Parliament, then out of it.

But the minor is absolutely false, for the King is *caput Parliamenti*, and so an essentiall part of Parliament. I am ashamed to bring quotations out of the lawyers, to prove what is so manifestly true. For if the King were not a necessary part of the Parliament, & the Parliament (as it is being rightly understood for the head and body) were the whole Realme, then we should have a Kingdome without any King.

One objection is frequently urged; *there must be a Parliament somewhere, for it cannot be dissolved without their consent,*
which

which is not yet past, but it is not at Oxford, nor no other place, London excepted, therefore it is there, and consequently the Houses are the Parliament without the King, or else His authority is in their votes.

The want of Logique hath proved as fatall to this Kingdome, as the want of conscience; I cannot determine which hath had the strongest influence in our calamities, the malice of some, or the ignorance of others. Suppose the Lords should remove their Houe out of the City (as they have an undoubted right so to doe, upon the agreement of the major part, and there might be some motives for it, for to say nothing else, their number would be more then doubled) where would these men place the Parliament? If the King and Lords should legally sit in *Oxford*, were the House of Commons thereby excluded from bring a part, or could they be concluded the whole Parliament? It is not an union in respect of place, but an union of their assent and the Royall ratification, which actuates the power into a law. The Kings absence doth not destroy the being of Parliament (no more then if he should dissent being present) nor doth it forfeit his power into their disposal, as you may see 33. H.8.c.21. *His assent by his letters patent is and ever was of as good strenght and force, as though the Kings person had beene there personally present, and had assented openly and publiquely to the same.*

But what if he dissent from them and refuse to confirme their votes? Then they ought not to have the force of lawes, no more then if the King and Lords should agree on any thing the Commons contradicting it; neither is a legall establishment. If they say, his obstinate refusall voides the Parliament, for it is made of no use, if it may not be active, when deserted by him, and except he please to establish their ordinances; The King might as well presse the Commons to consent to what he and the Lords shall thinke fitting, because otherwise they void the Parliament, for it is of no use, if it may not be active without their assent which they resolve not to passe.

This constitution of the negative voyce in either of the three estates, was made in favour of the present government, the goods of which were knowne by experience, that no innovation (the evils of which are hardly discovered before tryall) might

Ans.

might be introduced without a joint consent of all three.

The whole Kingdome is greater then the King.

If they meane by whole Kingdome, both King and people; it is very true, but nothing pertinent, for it onely signifies that the head is not so great as it self and the rest of the body. But if they understand (as they must if they meane to conclude any thing) the body in opposition to their Sovereigne, it is false that *universitas subjectorum est major Rege*. The same reason which makes him above one, makes him above two, and so above ten, & so ten thousands, & so ten millions of thousands; for their assembling together doth not dispense with their duty of allegiance, many or few alters not the quality of the act, an universall revolt from a lawfull Sovereigne is equally Rebellion, as a particular defection of one or more Countyes.

The Orators art is much used in these unhappy times *μεγά* *μεγά* and *μεγά μικρά πνίτ*, misdemeanors were once raised into high Treason, and now evident treason is lessened into necessary defence. That rhapsody of quotations, intituled *the treachery, and disloyalty of Papists to their Sovereignes*, &c. brings a very merry plea to take them off from being Traytors. *The stat.* of the 25 Edw. 3. c. 2. runnes in the singular number, if a man shall levy warre against the King, &c. it ought to be judged high Treason, therefore it extends not to the Houses, who are many and publique persons, p. 31. If he had sadly considered, how deeply conscience is engaged in the present warre against the King. he would not have endeavoured to seduce so many into Rebels, and make them forfeit their soules upon such pittifull subtilties.

If forraigners should inquire under what kind of government wee live, the answer must be, wee live over a King. Certainly they will much wonder at the unnecessary humility of the Houses, (they challenging to themselves superiority as the representative all) and conclude them very great Courtiers, who in their addresses to the Prince, their Subject, stile themselves *His Majesties most loyall and faithfull Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament*. They will shrewdly suspect, if Majesty be His due, that Supremacy is so also: while Rome was a popular State, the supreme dignity being in the people, was expressed

pressed by *majestas populi Romani*, and after when they had refigured up their power to Emperours, it was changed into *Augustalis Majestas*, taken for the person of the Emperour *C. ab i & apud quem. l. cum scimus*, or *Imperialis majestas. C. de quadriennii prae. l. bene à Zenone*. and so *Keyserlich Majestat* at this day for the German Emperour.

The custome of petitioning him, and such humility in the title of their addresses and the preface, (suppose it should reach no further, yet it) cannot be wholly taken of by the imperiousness of the matter. Some of that side seeme to be scrupled at it, and therefore *plaine scottish* tells you, *they hold Declarations to be more suitable to the sovereignty of so supreme a Court, whose power is coordinate with Princes (wee must hold superior) then petitions.*

I have proved in a former discourse, that the King is supreme head, not in respect of single persons, but the *universitas subjectorum*. For this is comprehended in *body politique* compact of all sorts, and degrees of people, which is sayd to owe next to God a naturall and humble obedience, 24. H. 8. c. 12. And it is evident, that hee is not the head of this or that man, but of all the members in conjunction, of the whole body, for else he would be the head of millions of bodies, and by consequence have as many distinct Kingdoms, as particular Subjects. It is needlesse to multiply quotations, as the 25. H. 8. 21. *This your Graces Realme recognises no superior under God, but only your Grace, or Queene Elizabeths publique declaration, that shee had next under God, the highest and supreme government and power over all Estates of the Realme of England, Ecclesiasticall or Temporall.* Camd. hist. pag. 31.

I will summe up the reasons in briefe, which prove, that the King is not *minor universis*. First, if the Houses are above Him, He hath no right of Empire upon them, because *inferior in superiorem non habet imperium*, but this is false, for they are subject by Law to His commands, when he bids them come, they are bound to come; and when he bids them goe, they are bound to go, that is when he calls them by his Writ, they ought to attend *prescriptis die & loco*, and he prorogues the assembly,
or

or dissolves it when he thinks fitting. It is no prejudice to this right, that he was graciously pleased to restrain the exercise of it in this present Parliament without their consent, to the end those vast debts which were brought upon this Kingdome might be discharged, and in order to that, good security might be given to such persons as were willing to ingage their estates, for the benefit of the common-wealth. I will make no advantage by urging their abuse of trust, by which they were enabled to take off that great burthen, which they have made infinitely more heavy, and whereas they might in short time have eased this State, our debts hourly grow upon us, and the Subjects estates are but the fuel to feed that fire which sensibly consumes this unhappy Nation. Notwithstanding, they have deceived both King and people, yet His Majesty cannot satisfie Himselfe in their Logique, and suffer Himselfe to be perswaded, he may lawfully reassume His right, because they doe contrary to trust. Though the perpetuity of this Parliament was never intended, and it hath beene of most pernicious consequence, yet the King will not allow Himselfe any liberty (to dissolve it) against law, upon most reall good intentions. Because the president is full of danger, and though in the present case it would be used for the benefit of His people, yet hereafter, it probably might be abused to their greater disadvantage.

Secondly, the division of all persons in this Land is into King and Subjects, liege Lord and liege people, and therefore they must be placed in the latter ranke. It is a strange phansie to abstract the body politique from all the particulars whereof it is compacted, and to salve the Oath of Alleagiance, by telling us *the universe or body politique never swore alleagiance or supremacy to the King, neither is it possible it should.* Reply to answer to the observations, pag. 17. and again, pag. 18. (in answer to the 24. Hen. 8. cap. 12. The King is supreme head, unto whom a body politique compact of all sorts and degrees of people are bounden and owe next to God a naturall & humble obedience) *wee must not understand this, that the body politique doth owe obedience, but that the severall sorts and degrees of people, of which this body is compacted and made, that they doe owe obedience,*

obedience for to take it otherwise, were to make an absurd and impossible construction. &c. If every particular man performe his duty of allegiance as he stands obliged by oath, let him oppose his meta phisicall body to the King even as he pleases. If the body politic have not sworne allegiance or supremacy, because it is a body only in consideration of law, that hath neither life or motion. like other individualls p. 17. and for the same reason doth not owe homage and obedience p. 18. How is it capable of rebelling against the Head? for it cannot fight but by the hands of particular men, and all these are tyed up by divine law, and their owne oathes.

3. They acknowledge themselves his subjects as united in Parliament; and if they should deny it, they could not challenge any benefit from his royall protection.

4. The lawes intrust him, not the Houses to protect us.

5. The Houses represent only subjects opposed to the King, who is their superiour by humane and consequently divine law, both as their naturall King and as Gods anoynted, his representative.

6. There is a great difference between the reall and representative all; for though it were true, (as it is not) that he were lesse then the whole people, yet this would not bring the conclusion home to the Houses. Who are the people only to such purposes as the law nominates, viz. for consenting to Lawes or Taxes upon the Subject. To all other purposes (wherein Regall power is not expressly limited) the King is the whole people, and what he doth is legally their Act. Aristotle tells us of some Kings, that had as full right over their whole realme, as a popular state can have over it selfe, and all things belonging thereto 3. pol. 14. To such an one that of the Tragedian is truly and properly applyed.

Σὺ πᾶσι πόλις, σὺ γὰρ τὸ δῆμον,

Πρῶτος ἀνὴρ ὢν.

You are the whole City, the whole Common-wealth, and therefore not responsible for any actions. This shewes the falsehood of their principles, *Quicquid efficit tale, est magis tale, and constitutus est major constituto, &c.* for though they meane

to make advantage of them only in this Kingdome, yet they conclude against the possibility of making any King absolute, which reason and experience have clearly confuted. For a people if conquered, (their lives and all they have being then in the hand of the victor) or if in feare to be swallowed up by a more potent enemy, they may and often have very prudently consented to place all the legall power of the Kingdome in one man, that he may thereby be enabled to protect them, and where the legislative power is unrestrained, there the rule is absolute.

To apply this doctrine; In those things wherein the King of *England* is not absolute, as in the exercise of his legislative power, and raising money without consent, The Houses together with him, represent the people; but in such matters, wherein he is absolute, (that is, wherein he is not restrained by lawes which are but limitations of Regall power) there he is *Populus Anglicanus*, legally the *English Nation*. For example sake, I will instance in the power of making Warre and Peace, if any take up Armes by vertue of any other then his Commission, they oppose not the King alone, but the King and People as, *People* is to be understood in law, for their hands are tyed up, and all their legall strength is in the Kings disposal.

Let us examine their Argument, *The whole people are above their King, therefore the Houses, because they represent them.*

The Antecedent I have shewed false, because the whole people are but such a number of Subjects, who can have no colour of pretence to be above him, whom God and the law hath placed over them.

The consequence is as infirme, and the reason of it fallacious, for if representatives might challenge all rights appertaining to the persons by them represented, then a Jury shall be concluded as honourable as the House of Commons, and then too because the Emperour of *Germany*, may challenge of the King of *France* or *England* (not superiority, for they are as supream and independent Princes, as he is, but) præcedence, (an honour due to the antiquity of the Empire, for nations as well as persons enjoy the benefit of *primo geniture*) his ambassadours also might sit a-

bove

bove those Kings, which the Court of honour guided by the law of nations, and reason would pronounce very absurd.

Again they represent the people only to some purposes; to make warre is none of them; The King alone can declare the peoples mind in this case, they have no legall way of expressing themselves but in his Commissions, and therefore the warre is not betweene King and People, but so many particular persons exceeding the trust committed to them, against the duty of allegiance, oppose both King and People. It is very remarkeable, that in the begining of these unhappy contrivances, some multitudes appearing in tumultuous wayes, what ever they desired or did was called the ACT of the People, providing for their own safety. But after the sense of miseries had bettered their understandings, to make them discern; this unnaturall warre was not like to improve the meanes of preservation, many of them make a Covenant to live peaceably and honestly amongst themselves, so in *Yorke-shire* long since, and lately between *Cornwall* and *Devon-shire*, and now the Houses interpose, and will not permit the people who were stirred up and encouraged to raise a warre against law, to make a peace according to law; let them trouble the waters as much as they please, they shall be lorne out in it; but they must not thinke of settling them, till they have done fishing; This would be a breach of Priviledge. The People are now forced to defend themselves, and their goods violently taken from them, for their security; who might soone be happy againe, if their friends would be lesse carefull of their safety. It is well knowne who began to appeale to the People; withall my heart (if law must be suspended) let them arbitrate the differences. The certaine way to know their judgement, and whom they apprehend to be a reall defender of what both pretend, our lawes and propertie, and liberty, and the established religion, is to cease plundering of both sides, and leave them to their naturall inclination. That side which contestes it cannot subsist without using violence and oppression, and forcing their estates from them, acknowledges that the people, whom they pretend to fight for, is clearly against them, and they have small reason to challenge a priviledge of breaking all

Lawes, by vertue of that *paramount Law, populi salus*, when as their unwarrantable courtes ventured on in order to the safety of the people, doe manifestly conduce (even the People being Judges, and repenting their former folly) to the poverty, slavery, and ruine of all.

It remaines, I lay downe my promised conclusion of the whole, that notwithstanding such a power of resistance, as they or any others have yet openly pleaded for, should be granted lawfull (as when in their owne defence, or when he that hath the highest authority, and is bound by the Law of God and his owne promise or oath, to administer justice equally, after frequent representations of their grievances, and most just complaints of their great sufferings affords no redresse) yet this can be no justification of the present warre against the King, nor acquit the Actors in it from being rebels; Because this case is evidently not now.

The Armes taken up against the King, were not (as is pretended) defensive, nor in maintenance of any thing which the Subject can challenge as of right.

This warre
offensive of the
Subjects part.

At Kingston
upon Thames.

If we call to minde that unhappy time, when His Majesty (forced to preserve himselfe by flying the City, that he might be free at least by absence, from the scornes and dangers of unrepented, I will not say, encouraged tumults) was immediately accused to have rebelled against himselfe, and was furnished with an Army by *Vote*, when he had not so much meanes left him, as could honestly feed his family, and it was *Ordered* that this formidable Host should be apprehended by the ordinary Ministers of justice in that County; if our memories will but render a faithfull accompt of this contempt, harder to be digested then the former popular fury, wee may perceive their behaviour towards him, was a sufficient confutation of their feares of him. They told the people, they were afraid of His power, and yet answered their owne jealousies by shewing to the world, they were able to take it from Him; He was so farre from being in a condition to invade their rights, He had not wherewith to defend His owne. His inability to revenge indignities was so notorious, they durst be even wanton in abusing

basing Him. When He wooed them in that gracious Message from *Windſor*, His yeelding ſo much did but tempt them to uſe greater rigour. Nothing would ſatistie, unleſſe he would make their *votes* the meaſure of His obedience; for what priviledge had they above private Counſellors, if their advice ſhould not ſway with Him more then reaſon? when He requested them onely to make knowne what was wanting to the Kingdomes happineſſe, and He would chearefully ſupply it, they thinke it loſſe of time to repreſent particular defects, but put him into ſuch a way as will effect it, to be guided in all things as they ſhall direct, that is, to let them manage His Royall power, who knew better how to governe. Becauſe He will not ſubmit to their blanke deſires, by confeſſing His *Vote* to be legally involved in their *Orders*, nor reſigne up that power which the law hath intruſted Him with, and which cannot be ſeparated from the Crowne without diſſolution of this government, and therefore He is obliged both in juſtice and honour to preſerve it as the neceſſary meanes, whereby He is inabled to protect His people; Becauſe, I ſay, He will ſtill be King, and not part with thoſe Rights which God and the Law gives Him, they will diſpenſe with their duty of being Subjects, and challenge a priviledge to take away thoſe Rights, which He will not, when petitioned, fairely deliver. After this, he retires to *Torke*, onely deſirous to live ſafely, and contented to ſuffer ſuch an eclypſe of glory, till ſuch time as the abuſed people ſhould recover their underſtandings, and theſe clouds ſhould be diſſelled by a cleare apprehenſion of His innocence, and undeſerved ſufferings. Thither the ſtorme purſues Him, His Rents are ſtopped, that He might become a burthen to the Northerne people, and that they might be tempted to part with Him, with as much cheerfulneſſe, as they would be rid of the poore of their County. Commiſſioners were pickt out, and ſent amongſt them to incenſe the leſſe knowing, and to awe the more honeſt party, from receiving their naked Sovereigne into their protection. The dangers they would incurre by their perverſe loyalty are laid open. They will certainly be Voted high Malignants, and notorious Delinquents, if they fruſtrate the *pretended Parliaments*

ment injustice by their charity ; for to what purpose did they
 take his revenues from him, if others should be allowed to give
 Him sufficient wherewith to clothe and feed Himselfe. Though
 such order was taken, by seizing His demaines, He should not
 live amongst them as a King, yet the sweetnesse of His private
 and familiar conversation with them, made Him an extremely
 popular Gentleman. And therefore misdoubting a generall de-
 fection to obedience upon tryall of so great goodnesse, which
 increased with their injuries, and finding the people (not able
 to conceale their love of His extraordinary virtues) openly be-
 traying an honest pity of their much wronged Master, they
 thought it necessary to give law to their feares, by usurping His
 power, and exercising it in their oppression whom unwary re-
 spect towards their Sovereigne had made suspected for loyall
 Subjects. Accordingly all His Arms (and those of the Kingdome
 besides, least the people should prevent their own wrongs by a
 timely revenge of His) are seized on, & they possesse themselves
 of His Forts, Castles, Townes, and Navy. After such unparalleld
 usurpations, Regall power being invaded by private hands, a
 small Guard of honest York shire gentlemen attend the King
 for His Personall safety, not knowing where their injuries
 would stop, for the bonds of law being once shaken off, their
 power to oppress, or ruine, was as unbounded as their will ;
 by the same justice He was kept out of *Hull*, they might have
 kept him in what Village, what House, what Prison they pleas-
 ed. This Guard of a much smaller number then they had kept
 together many Moneths was scornfully Voted an Army, and
 Commissions are illegally issued out to raise Forces to suppress
 this *second* Warre, made by the King upon Himselfe. The
 publique motive was feare of violence intended by His Maje-
 sty, the private encouragement to lesse forward Souldiers was
 the Kings inability to make the least opposition. An Army is
 levvyed against Him upon publique pretence of His strength,
 and perswaded to march against Him, upon their private assur-
 ance of His weaknesse. Thousands are listed not to fight, but
 travell, and are promised to know nothing of warre besides the
 wages, but to enjoy the security and delights of a progresse.

After

After all this (to prevent effusion of blood, and these visible calamities which the wild ambition of a few men, hath pulled upon their unhappy countrey) He twice sues for Peace, in those most gracious Messages from *Nottingham*, with offer of such large conditions, that if more should be required from Him, though when conquered, the Subjects would be losers by it, and they would gaine that by a miserable Warre, which will much diminish the happinesse of Peace. They will not now descend to a Treaty with their King; they like His humility, but are not well pleased it was not shewne sooner: onely some slender hopes are given, that their Generall shall have commission to pardon His former unwillingnesse to suffer, if He can redeeme those errors which have put them to expence and trouble, by a constant tamenesse for the future. From *Nottingham* he flies to *Shrewsbury* (for they are contented to give Him line enough, being confident they can strike Him when they please; in the meane time, 'tis good sport to see Him wearying Himselfe with fruitlesse indeavours to escape, when at last being tyred with long and vaine strivings, He must be forced to deliver Himselfe quietly into their hands.

Thus was he accused to be the assaulter, who was so long time unable to resist their violence. *Ei fuit saluti, quod videbatur certo periturnus*, his apparent weaknesse did deliver him from that power which was ready to swallow him up; they had then destroyed him, if they had not beene more wanton, then conscientious.

This narration is abundantly sufficient to prove the warre to be defensive of the Kings part. But I will examine it further by the rules of Justice.

Albericus Gentilius defines warre very accurately (presupposing the lawes of society, and excluding private Duells) *publicorum armorum justam contentionem*, a just dispute of differences by publique swords, *l. 1. c. 2. de jure bel. just, negans sensu*, for that which is not unjust, and in the law notion, in reference not to the causes, (for this is called *pium bellum*) but the authors waging it. Wherefore he shewes, that it cannot be but betweene independent States and Princes; Citizens or Subjects

'Subjects cannot be lawfull enemies opposed to their Prince, because they want supreme authority, without which the warre is not publique, nor can it be justified. The reason is, because warre is only excused by necessity, that is, when there is no legall way to end controversies by prohibiting farther appeals, as amongst distinct States, or severall Princes, who acknowledge no superior, and are not bound to submit to any Court, and may perhaps not agree upon arbitrators, because in some cases none can be named, who are uninterested in the decision. But I will not insist upon the injustice of Subjects making war for any cause whatever, upon the supreme power, because this was evidenced at large in the *second Section*, where I proved, that a liberty of resistance, doth destroy the nature of sovereignty or supremacy, and introduces *regnum in regno, civitatem in civitate*, by dividing the civill power, which can be but one, if the State or Kingdome be but one.

That of *Cyprian* shall be the entrance into our inquirie, concerning the injustice of this present warre of the Subjects part (setting aside their duty of non-resistance by divine law applied to our constitutions, and supposing an equality or independancy between King and Subjects) for want of a reasonable cause which might excuse those great mischiefs, as being a necessary remedy to prevent greater. *Homicidium quum admittunt singuli, crimen est, virtus vocatur, quum publice geritur.* And there is some ground in reason, that shedding though the blood but of one man should deserve an ignominious death, and to kill thousands by publique authority should make our lives glorious. Because there is as vast a difference, as betweene the guilt of murderers, and the gallantry of men undertaking the administration of justice with personall hazard for preservation of publique rights. First therefore a *jurisdiction* is required, where lawes are wanting to make use of force for recovery of right (which Subjects cannot have over their Prince) and this doth make *justum bellum*. And secondly, a sufficient cause is necessary; there must be reasonable motives, or else it cannot be *pium bellum*. Except wee have *ἰουδὴν καὶ συναίαν τὸ πολέμῳ ἀφαιρῶν*, wee commit murder with the sword of justice. The method

thod of the Romans was to demand their rights in a peaceable way by their Heralds, and in case restitution was denyed, then warre was proclaimed, and the cause likewise declared, (*nec deerunt, nec solverunt, nec fecerunt, quas res dari, fieri, solvi oportuit*, as wee find in *Livy*) that the world might be satisfied in the innocence of their unwilling violence. So carefull were they to preserve their credit with mankind, whom it universally concerned, that warre should not be waged upon light and unjustifiable grounds. There must be *belli causa gravis*, a sober inducement to make the warre defensive, and if this were not wanting, reall injuries having beene offered; yet if this cause were taken away, by an after readinesse to make full satisfaction, if the offended parties would not accept of restitution, the warre was then esteemed offensive of their part, and they became guilty before God for the causelesse effusion of so much blood, and worthily infamous amongst all good men. *Melior causa ad partem poenitentem transibat.*

To apply briefly these unquestionable rules of justice to the present case: for I find that long reasons doe as little satisfie the common sort, as none at all, they having but narrow memories, and it being the same thing not to know, and not to remember.

I will put but one interrogatory to such as take up Armes against the King, *Why they are Rebels and Traytors, cui bono?* (for that they are so, I appeale to the Judges of the Land, or referre them to the plaine and evident Law, 25. *Edw. 3.* Let them suppose themselves arraigned, and the Judge to aske what they can say for themselves, why sentence should not passe for their condemnation according to expresse law. Certainly they could not make a fairer plea then the *Earle of Essex*, who had not proceeded to offer violence to the Queene, and yet was adjudged a Traytor for appearing in Armes, only with intention to remove *evill Counsellors.*)

The *pretext* is, in defence of Liberty, Lawes, Property, Priviledges of Parliament and Religion.

But the *reall cause* is, the preferment of a few ambitious persons, who will not permit the Lawes to have their free and

uninter-

uninterrupted course, the knowne security of the Subjects happiness, because the orderly administration of justice doth not signifie, that the King will bestow such offices upon them, as their inordinate desires aime at. He cannot doubt the truth of this, who hath read and observed the conditions without which they will not suffer peace, and to compass which His Majesty hath left no reasonable wayes unattempted. I am confident, He hath offered so much to His Subjects as would content honest and moderate conquerours.

Concerning *Lawes*, there shall not be any other measure of mens actions, besides those knowne rules. Neither Royall Proclamations, nor fellow Subjects Ordinances shall make the people miserable under an Arbitrary sway. Doe you desire to be as happy as your progenitors? you shall. For you shall enjoy all the same lawes by the benefits wherof they lived peaceably, plentifully, gloriously. And besides this for a futher improvement of your happiness, all those new Lawes enacted this Parliament, and the severall additionall favours by parting with many knowne rights, (which exceed the Acts of Grace from all His Royall Ancestors though put together) shall be confirmed to you.

Doe you desire to be as free as your Ancestors? you shall. His Majesty passionately requires the Liberty of the Subject should be restored, and will take care the people shall not loose their birth-right, by being imprisoned upon His, or, which is worse, their fellow Subjects illegall displeasure. He will contribute His utmost endeavours, that His owne Castles, the Bishops houses, and all other not long since honest habitations, may be disgaoled, and the English may be againe acquainted with the comfort of life, freedome of their persons, and of conversation, and not be banished from their Wives and children for presuming to make the Lawes the rule of their obedience.

Doe you desire the establishment of your Property? you shall have it. His Majesty challenges no right to your estates, and is unwilling Subjects should claime a priviledge to take them from you, only that they may be better inabled to withhold

hold His. No pretences of unknowne dangers, or unseene necessity shall justify the violation of Lawes, which alone can secure your inheritances.

Doe you desire Priviledges of Parliament should suffer no diminution? They shall enjoy them in as high a way, as the Subject in the freest and most happy dayes ever challenged.

And lastly, that Religion which was sealed with the blood of many holy Martyrs since the Reformation, and which stands established by Acts of Parliaments, and flourished in the purest times of *Queene Elizabeth*, which no sober man can thinke guilty of any inclination to Popery, shall be confirmed to you by an impartiall execution of all legall penaltyes appoynted against offenders.

Thus whatever can reasonably be pleaded for, is cheerfully offer'd to us, and wee are wooed to accept, what the contrivers of our ruine pretend is fought for, Lawes, Liberty, Property, Priviledges of Parliament and Religion.

Would you have security for performance of this promised happinesse? you shall have as great as in justice you can require, or in reason expect; the same security with which the modesty and wisdom of former Parliaments were fully satisfied, and the Kingdome enjoyed the benefits of their well grounded confidence.

And to compleat all, you shall have certaine provision for a Trienniall Parliament. We are restored to such a high degree of health, as our Fathers were never acquainted with, and moreover such a course is taken to time this State Phisique (it was never intended Parliaments should be our constant diet) as will probably prevent future distempers.

What fury hath robb'd men of their understandings, that they cannot be perswaded to be happy! that their malice should increase with their calamities! that they should hate, and teare, and kill one another they know not why! For upon my soule a great part of their army would not impose upon others, nor admit themselves of the Brownists, or Anabaptists Creeds; neither would they thinke this Kingdome unhappy (so they might get some honest employment, as honourable opportunities would

would not be wanting in forraigne nations, if we had once recovered our former reputation, with that wealth and quiet we lately enjoyed) though 8 or 10 men should loose their mitchieffes, and not get those offices, which they valued, above the riches, and quiet and honour of their nation.

What one thing hath His Majestie denied them, which hee had not full right so to do? And, *qui jure suo utitur, nemini injuriam facit*; except they can alleadge *ad injuriam*, very considerable injuries offered to them, and a refusall to give satisfaction, the warre is manifestly unjust on their side; wee at the worst shall fall martyrs, and they at best will live murderers, all the blood which hath beene shed will be brought in upon their accompt, all those rapines and sacriledges, the robbing God, and men will lye upon their heads.

In matters of Law he hath not rejected any thing, and in matters of meere grace and favour, he hath beene bountifull above all his royall Ancestors, and so extreame tender is he in giving all content to His two Houses, that he could not prevaile with himselfe to deny, but he reserves his assent till such time, as they can shew him some reasonable motive, whereby he may be invited to grant.

As he hath been constant in his love and prosecution of peace, so he hath taken extraordinary paines in solliciting His Houses to cut off the unnecessary injuries of war, by laying down plunderings and other causelesse violences committed upon Estates or persons on both sides, his Royall heart bleeding even for the unavoidable pressures the people have pull'd upon themselves. His Souldiers will rule their actions by the counsell of *John* the Baptist, and be content with their wages, and cheerfully hazard their lives in defence of so honest a cause, by as honest meanes. If they are not able to pay their Army, what secret moath and canker hath consumed that vast treasure? Their want of money is a great argument of the unsearchable judgment of God, who can make them still poore, though they take a liberty to seize the wealth of the Kingdome. O that the people would but yet consider how unlikely it is the State can thrive hereafter under such Stewards!

He that sadly calls to mind the height of happinesse from which wee are lately falne, all past grievances being fully remedied, and future pressures probably prevented, and considers how often His Majesty hath intreated, importuned us to accept againe of that blessed condition, may well wonder, that our calamities should yet continue, that they should hourelly grow upon us. I would willingly banish from my thoughts those melancholly observations of Historians, *Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementes facit*, and *Quorum fortunam Deus mutare constituit, consilia corrumpit*. But they have so strongly posselt my fancy, that I am almost tempted to feare, such a generall losse of mens reason, is but the fatall forerunner of an univerrall destruction.

Our condition stands thus; though the King hath not yet, nor ever will hereafter deny any thing of right, (those desires which are regulated by lawes shall be no sooner presented to Him, then granted) and though he hath indulged extreemely much of favour (more then our Fathers had the boldnesse to crave) neverthelesse wee cannot prevaile with our selves to enjoy so great blessings, unlesse He will consent likewise to their other requests, some of which He may thinke He is obliged not to passe in justice, there being no light motives to induce Him to beleve, He hath sworne against it, at His Coronation; and some, He cannot grant with honour, and without betraying that trust committed to Him by God and the Law for the benefit and protection of His people.

He is desired to signe the Bill for abolition of Episcopacy (that which acquainted this Land with Christianity) and to diminish the Rights of the Church, and take away Ecclesiasticall revenues, that He may be remembred in story, as the unfortunate instrument to pull downe what the charity of many ages hath beene building, and to destroy many pious Monuments and glorious testimonies of our forefathers christianity, and to ruine what the devotion of our godly Ancestors hath contributed for the encouragement of learning and advancement of Religion.

To say nothing to the politique part, how the Ecclesiasticall

and Civill State are so interwoven, that the foundation of the whole may thereby be shaken, and how there are very good reasons to suspect a Presbyteriall Government will prove extremely prejudiciall to Monarchy; I shall speake only to the religion of this request. And first, I would willingly know, whether there be such a sinne, as wee have hitherto used to call Sacriledge (so severely punished upon the Heathens, the violation of things dedicated to false Deities, being notoriously revenged by the true God, and so extremely abhorred by all good Christians in former ages) and then, whether Magistrates have any dispensation to commit Sacriledge innocently, by which private men incurre a lasting infamie, and eternall damnation.

Secondly, I would willingly be satisfied in this *Quere*, whether the King having sworne to preserve the Rights and Immunities of the Church intire, can innocently consent (supposing Him fully informed in the nature of that right which belongs to His Clergy, for the most religious Prince may be subject to mistake) to lessen or abrogate them, except released by the consent of that Body, to whom He is obliged? This poynt rightly stated (I shall only offer it to be seriously meditated on, without any peremptory determination) may confirme, the Lands of the Church for the future to the great improvement of our civill happinesse. For (besides that wee might reasonably promise to our selves a blessing from the Almighty, if wee shew our selves as carefull, to settle those Rights which tend to the advancement of his worship by a firme establishment of a certaine and honourable maintenance for his more immediate servants, as wee are justly solicitous to secure our secular interests, by making provision, that no mans Rights shall be alienated without the owners consents) a great temptation, and that which seemes to have the strongest influence in all attempts of innovation, would thereby be cut off. the hopes of repairing their decayed fortunes with the spoyle of the Church, Wee shall find in stories, that most of those stormes which disturbed former calmes, and by which this Kingdome sundry times hath beene miserably shaken, were raised only with intention

tion to sinke the Church by such as promised to themselves considerable shares in the wreck.

Some answer; He is equally sworne to the observation of Lawes, but these He may alter, with advice of both Houses. Thus one, *I doe not conceive Him more bound to defend them by His Oath, then the rest of the Lawes enacted, any of which when the Kingdome desires should be abrogated, I hope is done without perjury.* That which is commonly called the Lawyers *Answer to Dr Ferne*. p. 31. This doth by no meanes take of my scruple, because His Oath to defend the Lawes enacted, is made *populo Anglicano*, to His people, and so (as all other promises by consent of the parties to whom a right was transferred) may be, and really is forgiven by them represented in Parliament to that purpose. But this other Oath is made to such a part of His people, *Clero Anglicano*, and particularly taken by Him after His Oath to the whole Realme, which were needlesse, except it meant some other obligation. This seemes to prove it a distinct Oath, and not releasable without their consent. Upon the same grounds that these Rights are pleaded voyd, if Voted downe, notwithstanding they to whom they belonged, expresse not their will to part with them, the strongest security *England* can give is weakned and discredited, that is the ingagement of the Kingdome to repay such sums by consent of King and Lords and Commons, which and which only is publique Faith. In such a case, can the City be Voted payd, except they willingly release the debt? if they should be told, their rights are not stronger then lawes, but these are made null at the desire of the Kingdome in Parliament, they would soone apprehend their logique to be extremely faultie, and it is probable they would maintaine, that the representative Kingdome in Parliament cannot dispense with the Kings obligation to a particular body of His Subjects, in whom alone the power of releasement doth lye.

He is desired to nominate such Officers to manage the great affaires of state, as they shall confide in; that is to yeild up His undoubted right, happily enjoyed by all His Royall Progenitors, into their disposall, and to determine His choice by arbitrary

bitrary feares. If they will confide in those, whom the lawes doe not distrust, the King hath satisfied even this request, for he will not preferre any against whom they can bring just and legall exceptions. But he thinks it no good argument to induce him to turne able honest Ministers (who may challenge from His accustomed goodnesse that priviledge of *quàm diu se bene gesserint*) meerly because others desire to have their places. They themselves would conceive it very hard usage to be put out againe upon the same title, when no legall exceptions were produced against them, and therefore they presse His Majesty to secure them (when once in) by law, and yet will not permit him to be ruled by their advice out of equity. and to continue His favours to those men, who by a faithfull discharge of their places, have shewed themselves worthy of that trust; if it will be reasonable then, it is so now, to encourage faithfull servants by making their owne offences only, and not other mens feares, the rule by which they shall suffer. *Nemo illis sic timere permisit.* They might as well tell the world in plaine english (but that advantages are still made of the peoples blindness) *except the King will grant such preferments to us and our favorites* (for let Him nominate whom He will, they will never confide, unlesse He guide His nomination by their instructions, who are to approve them, and the truth is, when they have gained one, He hath reason to request them to take the other, for they will save Him the trouble of naming in vaine, and He may thereby conceale His hurtfull affection, and not expose His best friends to dishonourable repulses) *except wee may be Patrons* (they would once have been contented to be onely the present incumbents, and suffer Him to retaine the right to bestow them freely for the future time) *wee shall never indure peace, and yet wee must be forced to cast the envy of so miserable a warre upon him.*

All understanding and dis-interested persons must clearly discern, it is the same injustice, not to consent, the people should be happy, and to keep up these publique calamities, untill they shall be satisfied in their illegall, unreasonable propofalls. Though it be a more politrique way, *duriis conditionibus*

pacem

pacem pari velle, to expresse a desire of peace, but not to admit it, but upon unequitable and unjust conditions, yet it is equally dishonest, as to deny it downeright. They are altogether inexcusable, unless they will make such proposals, whereby it may appear, they covet not anothers, but only to preserve their owne rights. Which the King freely offers to them without diminution of the least title, and with unprejudiced enlargements by many additionall favours in this present Parliament.

He is desired to make the Houses sharers with him in ordering the *Militia*, and to grant them a right to suppress all forces but such as shall be raised by their consent.

This request is evidently destructive of that fundamentall Law, which intrusts this power in the Crowne alone to enable the King to protect His Subjects and the Lawes. The benefits of which constitution our happy Ancestors enjoyed, and the greatest pressures the English nation at any time suffered under, did spring from this fountaine, when Subjects undertooke the managery of this regall right.

Because their desire is discountenanced by Law (and being so though it were as really beneficiall, as it is truly pernicious to the peace and quiet of a State, opening a gap to civill dissensions, necessarily arising from the opposite interests of consorts in power; though it might be reasonably wished, yet it cannot be innocently fought for) They endeavour to justify it by reason of State, and plead the necessity of it, as being the onely cure of *feares and jealousies*.

The recovery of this Kingdome were certainly desperate, if His Majesty too should grow fearefull and jealous, who hath bene more unanswerably tempted to give admittance to these unhappy passions. For if they might seize on his power by the Law of feares, if that it is taken from him, becomes a motive to perswade him to give them right to keepe it, might not he with greater shew of reason, require an enlargement of his former power, because it is manifest (though they pretended to be afraid of it) it was not able to secure him from their violence. Much more might be pleaded, why he should be enabled to keepe, what the Law gives him, then they not to restore what

they have illegally taken from him. But he contents himselfe with the ordinary meanes of safety appointed by Law, and will not make himselfe justly formidable, by giving entertainment to unjust feares, and challenging a priviledge to doe injuries, because it is not impossible, he may suffer them, and may loose his owne rights, except he disable others by invading theirs. If this principle should once prevaile, peace and justice were lost to mankind; for it would still be some-bodies turne to be afraid, and that would give them a right to greater power, which right would cease as soone as they were possesst of it, and the true title to power would alwaies be in those who wanted it. There is no other way to get out of this maze and confusion, to which their wild feares inavoydably betray a State, but by prevailing with our reason, not to suspect those whom the Lawes have not suspected. For as jealousies against Law are causelesse, so they are altogether remediesse. *The fuller answer to Doctor Ferne*, endeavours to excuse them by vertue of a commission from this principle, *abundans cautela non nocet*, but wofull experience hath evidenced the contrary; he tells us further, *State jealousy hath no right hand error, none on the excessive side, the more the better.* pag. 27. It is much worse then private jealousy, because this is but the misery of a family, that the unhappinesse of a Kingdom.

To summe up all, though some have gone so farre, to indulge to Subjects a liberty to take up armes in maintenance of *old laws*, yet no sober author can be produced, who makes it lawfull to fight against their Sovereigne for the establishment of *new laws*. It is not possible a strong desire of innovation should take off the guilt of so unnaturall a warre.

The King requires nothing but (what the Subject cannot deny without injustice, without perjury, and consequently, the guilt of all that blood which is, or shall, or might be spilt.) his knowne legall rights, and he denies nothing which the Subject can by Law challenge, and hath indulged so much of grace, as all ages cannot paralell, and yet is still ready to consent farther, if any reasons shall be produced to invite greater favours.

How will posterity hate this example, and blush at the unworthy story of our proceedings, who have discouraged good
Kings

Kings by these ungratefull requitalls of such eminent deservings towards his people! If we had not with our peace, and plenty, and innocence, lost our reason too, we should quickly be perswaded to accept of so great happinesse, and not perversely hazard an ignominious death, onely to make our lives miserable. How are we become beasts in our understanding, as if onely capable to suffer without any apprehension of the causes or remedies.

The result of all is; life and death are set before the people, it is in their election to be againe happy, but they chose these miserable things and are active in their owne ruine. For it will come to that, if they stop not in their wild progresse, The husbandmans store being consumed, the pastures unstocked, though wee escape the sword or bullet, wee shall be devoured by famine, or else perish by plagues, or fluxes, the fatal productions of unholosome dyer.

It concernes us to pray unto Almighty God that he would be pleased to restore us to our wits, for if he would make us wise, wee should soone make our selves happy, by bringing the pernicious authors of these our miseries to a legall tryall; wee should then clearely see, that the preferment of a few men ought not so to sway with us, that wee should sacrifice our Liberty and Property, and suffer the Lawes to be violated, the Protestant Religion to be dishonoured, only in order to satisfie some particular mens ambition. That indignation of the people in *Virgil* (ingaged in a miserable warre, to gaine that with blood and ruine, the want whereof was no diminution to their happinesse) would too well fit the *English nation*,

*Scilicet ut Turno contingat Regia conjux,
Nos anima viles inhumata, infestaque turba
Sternamur campis!*

Must wee dye like dogs, that they may live like princes! How are the *oppressed commons* concerned in those mens illegall gainings, that they should be contented to loose their estates, and lives, and soules, in prosecution of none of their owne interrets? They fall unlamented, unregarded, while the contrivers of these mischiefes, sit safe, exposing others to the dangers.

grow rich, while the impoverished Kingdome is ready to sink under the burthen of its debts, and are even wanton in our oppressions.

Since therefore the onely ground of this unnatural warre is, that His Majesty will not permit us to be lesse happy then our Ancestors, choosing rather to suffer so many injuries, and to expose His Royall Person to the dangers of open hostility, then to wrong His Subjects and purchase safety or plenty, by making such Lawes, as private interelsts would force upon Him and the Kingdome,

Since He denies nothing but the abolition of our good old customes which long experience hath confirmed to be extremely beneficiall to this Nation,

Since they reject *peace*, upon pretext, it comes not accompanied with *truth*, and meane by *truth* not the Protestant Religion as it is settled in this Kingdome and established by Act of Parliament, but some *moveable Creed*, the Articles whereof it shall be their *priviledge* to abrogate, and to make it speake new doctrines, according as they will suit best with their civill interelsts,

Since they fight, not for certaine and knowne Lawes, not for a certaine and knowne Religion, that is, not to restore, but to take away, and which is more intollerable, that they may adde as yet they know not what,

It is evident, the resistance now made is most offensive of the Subjects part, and doth unavoidable incurre the Apostles sentence, *damnation*.

FINIS.



ERRATA.

PAG. 9. lin. 16. del.: p. 5. l. 12 read *life*. p. 15 l. 16. r. *al Casin d'et* p. 17. l. 38. dele *it*. p. 36. l. 20. for *hur*, your. p. 42. l. 28. for *not*, *no*. p. 77. l. 22. r. *good* p. 86. l. 2. for *the* r. *our*. p. 95. l. 2. r. *whom*. p. 98. l. 11. for (*against which* r. *against* (*which*. p. 123. l. 34 for *eo* r. *to*. p. 134. l. 6. r. *Grecian*. p. 135. l. 21. for *not altogether*, r. *not altogether consonantly* to. p. 139. l. 15. for *that* r. *the*. ib. l. 34. for *not be*, *not so be*. p. 158. l. 17. *inquiry*.

AN 2
ORDINANCE

As passed OF
The Lords and Commons assembled
in PARLIAMENT;

For the better Raifing, Leavying,
AND

Impresting of Mariners
Saylers, and others:

For the present Guarding of the Seas, and ne-
cessary Defence of the Realm, and other
His Majesties Dominions.

Jan. 12. 1643.

Ordered by the Commons in Parliament, That this Ordinance be forthwith Printed and published:

H: El ynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Printed for *L. Blaiklock.* Ian. 15.

A
 ORDINANCE
 OF
 The Board of Directors
 For the better Regulation, Improving
 the
 Impriety of Manners
 For the better Regulation of the said
 and
 The Board of Directors
 Ordinance
 Passed at a Special Meeting
 of the Board of Directors
 Held at the City of New York
 On the 10th Day of May 1844
 In Presence of the Mayor
 and the Aldermen
 of the City of New York
 Attest
 The Mayor of the City of New York
 The Aldermen of the City of New York



An Ordinance for the better raising and leavying of Mariners, Saylers, and others, for the present guarding of the Seas, and necessary Defence of the Realme, and other His Majesties Dominions.

WHereas both Houses of Parliament have appointed a competent number of Ships to continue out this Winter, and intend to set forth a great Fleet this ensuing Spring, for guard of the narrow Seas, preservation of Trade, and for the necessary Defence of this Kingdome, and other His Majesties Dominions, which at this time is of as great necessity as ever; considering not only the home-bred distractions of this Kingdom, and of Ireland; but the great preparati-

ons which are making already in Forreigne parts, in aid & incouragement of the Papists & ill-affected party amongst our selves, now up in armes against the Parliament: And where-as there is occasion as well at present as hereafter will be for Pressing of Marriners for the said Service;

Be it therefore Ordained by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, That the Lord High Admirall of *England* appointed by both Houses of Parliament, shall, and may at any time or times, from the first day of January 1643. to the first day of January 1644. by himself, his Commissioner or Commissioners, Officer or Officers, or any of them, Raife, Leavy, and Impresse, such, and so many Marriners, Saylers, Watermen, Chirurgeons, Gunners, Ship-Carpenters, Caukers, and Whoymen, as also Carre-men for carriage of victualls &c. as shall be requisite and necessary for the service aforesaid, or for any such further defence of this Realm, or any other of His Majesties Dominions: Which said Marriners, Saylers, and other such

(5)
such Persons so to be leavyed, and impres-
sed as afore said, and every of them shall have
paid & delivered unto him upō such his Im-
Pressing, by the person that shall so Impresse
him for Conduct money, for every Mile from
the place where he shall be so Imprest to the
Ship or place where he shall be appointed to
make his repair the sum of One Penny to
each man, and the like sum of one penny for
every mile from the place of his discharge un-
to the place of his abode, and shall be allow-
ed for this service the same wages and enter-
tainment, in all respects which hath bin al-
lowed by the Parliament this last yeer to any
such person or persons imployed in the afore-
said service.

And if any Marriner, Sayler, Waterman,
Chirurgion, Gunner, Ship-Carpenter, Cau-
ker, Whoymen, or Carman, shall willfully
refuse to be Impressed in, or for the said ser-
vice, or shall voluntarily hide, or absent him-
self at the time of such Presse to avoyd the
said service, or receiving his said Conduct
monies, do not appear at such places and
times,

times, as by his Ticker he is appointed; That then any such person so offending shall suffer imprisonment for the space of three moneths without Bayle or Main-prize: Provided alwayes, and be it Ordained, that no money or other reward shall be taken, or any corrupt practise used by any the persons authorized by this Ordinance, in or for the Pressing, changing, sparing, or discharging of any person or persons to be Imprest as aforesaid, as they will answer such offence in Parliament; And all Deputy-Lieutenants, Majors, Bayliffs, Constables, and all other inferior officers are hereby required and enjoyned to be aiding and assisting from time to time, to the persons authorized by this Ordinance, according to the true intent and meaning thereof; Provided alwayes, That this Ordinance shall not extend to the Pressing of any Master or Masters-mate, Gunner, Carpenter, or Boatswain of any Ship or vessell that is or shall be in employment.

And for the better incouragement both of Seamen and Watermen, to apply themselves the

(7)

the more willingly to this service; It is further Ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, That all Mariners, Saylers, and likewise all Watermen, who have served an Apprentiship by the space of Seven yeers in their said professions, or that are Servants and Apprentices by Indenture to any such Watermen, shall hereby be freed and exempt from being Pressed to serve as Souldiers in any land Service; Except in case of extreme necessity, and that with the consent and privy of the Lord high Admirall of *England*, or by expresse Order of both Houses of Parliament.

FINIS.

Die Mercurij, *January 10. 1643.*

IT is this Day Ordered, that the Committee for the late Designe of Master Riley and others, doe give Order for the setting forth in Print, and publishing what was delivered to the Common-Hall and observed by them, upon that Designe on Munday last.

HEN. ELSINGE, Cler. Park
D. Com.

VVHereas by the Order above mentioned, the House of Commons hath given direction for the Printing of what was delivered at *Guild-Hall* concerning the late Designe, and the care thereof is committed to that Committee. None are therefore to presume to Print any thing what was there delivered, Letters, or Proclamations, or any other matter; but by Order of the said Committee, of which all Printers are to take notice, also it is Ordered by the Committee, that this businesse bee Printed by *Peter cols* Stationer.

Dated *January 10.*
1643.

A 3

C V N N I N G P L O T

TO DIVIDE AND DESTROY,
England THE
P A R L I A M E N T
AND THE CITY OF LONDON.

Made knowne (at a Common Hall) by the Earle of
Northumberland, Master Solliciter, and Sir Henry Vane.

K Percy

The Design
is fully dis-
covered in
the

Severall Examinations and Confessions,
of Master RILEY.

Severall Examinations and Confessions,
of Sir BASILL BROOK.

Severall Examinations and Confessions,
of Master VIOLET.

Proclamations from his MAJESTY.

Letters from his MAJESTY.

Letters from the Lord DIGBY.

Letters from Colonell READ.

L O N D O N,

Printed, and are to be sold by *Peter Cole* at his shop in *Corn-Hill*,
right over against *Popes-Head Alley* neare the *Royall*
Exchange, January 16. 1643.

C V N I N G

P E O T

TO DIVINE AND DEAR

P A R T I A L





*The Right Honourable, the Earle of
Northumberland his Speech.*

MY Lord Maior, and you Gentlemen of the City of *London*, the two Houses of Parliament, have not of late had any occasion to imploy us hither, the reason hath been, because that your readinesse and your forwardnesse have upon all occasions prevented any thing that they could ask or desire from you; But now at this time, we come from command of the two Houses to communicate unto you, a discovery that hath been lately made under a fair and specious pretence of desiring peace, to raise divisions, and to make factions here in the City, and between the City and the two Houses of Parliament: What hath already passed, and come to the knowledge of the Houses, they have sent us here to acquaint you with, the Papers and the Examinations will be here read unto you, and likewise the Sense of the two Houses. When you shall heare these read, and consider the Instruments that were the Actors and the Persons imployed in this Negotiation, you will be best able to judge of the businesse; If you please to have the patience to heare these Examinations read, these Gentlemen will read them.



A Narrative of a Designe and Practise
upon the City of *London*, lately discovered,
and some Observation upon it by
M^r SOLLICITER.

MY Lord Mayor, and you Gentlemen and worthy Citizens of this City: You have heard by this *Noble Lord*, that it hath pleased *Almighty God*, out of his goodnesse within these few dayes to make a discovery to both the Houses of an *intended practise* upon the *Parliament* and *City*, and so by consequence upon the whole *Kingdome*. And in respect, that the *Stage* whereupon this designe was to have been acted, were the Houses of *Parliament*, and principally this *City*, and that some of the Actors in that *Tragedy* (for so I may call it) were members of this *Citie*: And likewise in respect of that neere Conjunction between the Houses and you, That as *Hypocritus* twins, they are like to live and dye together, Therefore they have commanded me and diverse other Gentlemen of the House of Commons to make known unto you, what this designe and practice was.

But before I tell you either what it was, or the dangerous consequence of it, I think it will not be amisse, that you should heare it from one of themselves who was an Actor and projector of it, that is, from the Lord *Digby*, who in a letter writ to Sir *Basil Brooke* concerning this business doth professe, *That since these troubles did begin, There*

was no design, nor no practise that was so likely to have taken, that was so likely to have produced that good effect (as they stile it) as this.

You may very well remember the bloody Designe upon the *Parliament* and this *City* discovered about half a yeare since: he himselfe said, *That this is above all that hitherto hath been in agitation.* This is their sence upon it, that were the Projectors, and were to have been the Actors in it.

The thing in brief is thus: *It was a seditious and Jesuiticall Practise and Designe, under the specious pretence of Peace, to have rent the Parliament from the City, and the City from the Parliament; To have severed and disjoyned the Parliament within it self, the City within it self, Thereby to render up both Parliament and City to the Designes of the Enemy, which is not all; for the destruction and nulling of this present Parliament was intended; as likewise the engaging our selves in a Treaty of Peace without the advice or consent of our Brethren of Scotland, contrary to the late Articles solemnly agreed upon by both Kingdomes, to the perpetuall dishonour of this Nation, by breach of our publique Faith, engaged therein to that Nation, thereby not only utterly to frustrate our expectation of assistance from Scotland, but which is worse (in all likelihood) to engage the two Nations in broyles, if not in a war.*

This in briebe was the design, the particulars whereupon it was framed, and the parties that were Actors in it, I shall likewise discover to you.

There

There was one *Read*, who called himselfe *Colonel Read*, a man I suppose well known by name to this *City*: He had been heretofore many yeares since, a common *Agent* for the *Papists*, he was a principall person to whom the *Packets* and addressees from *Rome* were made; it was he that did disperse them abroad in the *Kingdome*, with whom for the advancing of the *Popish Cause*, continued consultations were held, who for advancing of the *Catholique Cause* (as they call it) went over into *Ireland*, there fomented the *Rebellion*, having been one of the *Plotters* of it, and was taken *Prisoner* there and sent hither; This was the man, who was the principall contriver and *Actor* in the present businesse.

Who together with *Sir Basil Brooke* (a known *Jesuited Papist*, a great *Stickler* in all the *Popish transactions*, and *Treasurer* of the monies lately contributed by the *Papists* in the *War* against *Scotland*) both prisoners having laid the designe here, *Mr Reads* enlargement must be procured that he might act his part at *Oxford*; *Sir Basil Brooke* must lye *ledger* here.

But because so great a businesse required more *manna-gers*, therefore one *Violet* a broken *Goldsmith*, and a *Protestant* in shew, must be brought in as a fit person to go between these *Papists* and the parties in the *City*; *Mr Ryley* by reason of his place of *Scoutmaster* of the *City*, and his reputation amongst the *Commoners* must be gained, who in these respects might be very usefull, both in the way of *Intelligence* between *Oxford* and them, as likewise by promoting it with the *Citizens*; others in the *City* of principall note amongst the people are dealt withall.

The first thing *Mr Ryley* must act, is the exchange of *Read* (a prisoner for the *Treason* and *Rebellion* in *Ireland*) under the name of *Captain Read*, taken prisoner at *Burleigh House* in this *Kingdome*, for one of no greater ranke than

than a Quarter-master. That being done a *Character of Intelligence* was agreed on between *Read*, *Ryley*, and *Violet*, *Read* to be knowne by the name of *Colloanel Lee*, *Ryley* by the name of *The Man in the Moone*, and *Violet* by the name of *James Morton*.

After *Reads* going to *Oxford*, the *Queene*, the *Dutches of Buckingham*, and the *Lord Digby* are consulted with; These are the Managers at *Oxford* with his *Majesties* knowledge: *Reade* from *Oxford*, by Letters to *Master Rily* by the name of *the Man in the Moone* assures him, *The businesse goes on well at Oxford*; Promises of reward are made to *Ryley* and *Violet*: *Peace* being the pretence; Therefore *Propositions* are framed and agreed on, six in number, by *Read*, *Sir Basil Brooke*, *Ryley*, and *Violet*, and seene by others, and afterwards sent to *Oxford*. A Petition for *Peace* being intended, the better to induce that, It was agreed that his *Majestie* must write a powerfull and promising letter to the *Lord Major and Citizens*, to be read at a *Common Hall*, and fit Instruments thought upon to be employed to prepare my *Lord Major* before hand: The Letter was written and agreed upon here by *Sir Basil Brook*, *Master Ryley* and *Violet* and sent to *Oxford*, *Violet* a prisoner by *Master Ryleys* means was procured to be exchanged, that he might from *Oxford* bring the letter and advises, for the carrying on of the businesse: At *Oxford* the businesse was so diligently solicited by *Read*, that at *Violets* coming, all things were ready, and after three houres discourse in his *Majesties* presence, with the *Queene*, the *Dutches of Buckingham*, & the *Lord Digby*, *Violet* the same day, (being the Munday before the discovery) dispatched from *Oxford* with his *Majesties* Letter, altered in nothing save the Title, and with another Letter from the *Lord Digby* to *Sir Basil Brooke*, whereby the whole managing of the businesse is intrusted to *Sir Basil Brook*, and it is wholly left to his *Wisdom* and *Discretion*, whither

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Who together with Sir *Basil Brooke* (a known Jesuited Papist, a great Stickler in all the Popish transactions, and Treasurer of the monies lately contributed by the Papists in the War against *Scotland*) both prisoners having laid the designe here, Mr *Reads* enlargement must be procured that he might act his part at *Oxford*; Sir *Basil Brooke* must lye ledger here.

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the letter to the City shall be delivered or not.

Violet brought both the Letters to Sir *Basil Brooke* the Wednesday after, and one *Wood* having formerly brought a Letter from *Oxford* to the City, the same in matter with this that *Violet* brought, which will be read unto you; Sir *Basil Brook* delivered the Letter that came last from *Oxford* to *Wood* to be delivered to my Lord Major: the next day after which was Thursday, and with direction, That it should have been published on the Fryday; The delivery of it to my Lord Major, by the discovery of it the same day was prevented, and Sir *Basil Brooke*, *Ryley* and *Violet* that night were examined.

Before the Reading of the Examinations, Letters, and Propositions unto you at large, That the main designe to be made out by them, as they are conjoynd and have relation to the precedent narrative, may be the better understood, I shall in brieft touch upon the matter of them, as likewise upon such Conclusions as may necessarily be deduced from them.

As first; That no *Peace* was really intended; appears throughout the whole transaction: The propositions, which upon the Supposition that this is no Parliament, if anything, were to have been the ground-work & foundation of it, which upon the reading you will finde so slight and frivolous, that no man can conceive that our *Peace* could have been built upon such a foundation; Nothing so much as spoken of concerning *Ireland*, or the disengaging of of our selves from the Articles of Agreement with our Brethren of Scotland; No provision for Reformation of Religion, or preservation of that we have, or of our Lawes and Liberties: But in stead thereof there are *quandam iniqua*, the *Excise* must be continued beyond the war, that out of it the King might have a benefit, and the debts of the Enemies to the Parliament repayed: and the

the City immediatly to be Treated with.

That no Peace was intended, appeares further from the *L: Digbys* Letter (written within a day or two of that to the City) to the *Ki: Agent at Brussels*, who writes that *the French Treaty was at an end, because the Parliament must not be acknowledged to be a Parliament, that as the King for a long time had taken that for a ground, so he held the same resolution still, being thereunto advised by all his Lords at Oxford; and by his resolution of holding a Great Counsell in the nature of a Parliament at Oxford the 22. of this Moneth. And when his Majesties Letter shall be read, you will finde no particulars whereupon a Peace should have been built, save onely kinde words in generalls.*

This further appeares from the persons who were the first Designers and Contrivers, and were to have been the chief managers from first to last of the businesse, *Read and Sir Basil Brook* known Jesuited Papists, and alwaies active in promoting Popish practizes; This Peace must have been such as these persons shall contrive; The prayer for our deliverance from the Gunpowder Treason agreed upon in Parliament, saith, That the Faith of such Papists is faction, Their practises, the murdering of the soules and bodies of men; *Read* he hath been a Contriver and profecuter of of the bloody Tragedies of the Protestants in Ireland; the other not without suspicion to have had his hand in it; what is said concerning the Queen in that particular, is set forth by the Declaration of both or one of the Houses, and the Articles of her Impeachment, the Countesse of Buckingham (beside that her husband hath appeared visibly in that Rebellion) is not free of other cause of suspicion: These as was said before, assisted with the *Lord Digby*, must be the Instruments of this Peace; which as it is set forth in his *Majesties* Letter, must be such as that whereby the true Protestant Religion, the Lawes and Liberties of

the Kingdome must be maintained.

These Papists you see, who had done so good service for the Protestant Religion in Ireland, must lay the foundation for the preservation of it here.

Sir Basil Brook, and Read, well knew that the Pope and and Popery have been banished this Kingdome by the Parliaments of England, and that the succeeding Parliaments to this time have alwaies endeavored the suppression of popery, and therefore Degenerating from their Predecessors, who in the Gun-powder Treason endeavoured for that cause to have blown up the parliament, They must now endeavour the Preservation of the Parliament, and the Lawes and the Liberties of the Kingdome.

The things which from this briefe Narrative, the reading of the Examinations, Propositions, and Letters, will appeare to have been designed, are these;

First the dividing the Parliament from the City, and the Parliament and the City within themselves.

First in respect that this Treaty of *Peace* was to have been immediately between the King and the City, and that whereupon the *Peace* of the whole Kingdome should have been settled, as appeares by his Majesties Letter, what wide rents such a Treaty must have produced between the City and Parliament is obvious. Again, for the prosecution of the Treaty when entertained by the City; safe conducts were to have been granted, not only to those of the City, but to such of the Members of either House, as would have repaired to *Oxford* for that purpose; Every man sees by this, what division and confusion would have followed both in City and Parliament. The Projectors were well acquainted with *Machivels* maxime, *divide & impera*.

The second was no lesse then the utter destruction, the nulling and making voyd of this present Parliament, as will

will appeare by the Lord *Digbyes* letter to *De vic*, and the summoning of the great Councell or Parliament at *Oxford* compared with the third of these Propositions. By the letter to *De vic* this Parliament, as the resolution then was at *Oxford*, must not be acknowledged, and by this third Proposition for that very cause, the Parliament must be waved, and the Treaty must be immediatly between the King and City. The consequence whereof had been no lesse then the rendring of the Kingdome for ever incapable of having any more Parliaments, This Parliament, It was called and continued according to the knowne Lawes and Usages of the Kingdome, was afterwards by an Act of Parliament, assented unto by his Majestie, so acknowledged, and made indissolvable without its own consent; (a greater Testimony of the validity of this Parliament, then I think was ever given to any:) If neither the Common Lawes and usages of this Kingdome, nor the concurrent Authority of an Act Parliament be able to support this Parliament, when his Majestie shall declare the contrary, I shall without more words leave to your judgements, whether this doctrin doth not at once blow up the fundamentalls of all Parliaments, Lawes of the Kingdome, Libertie of the Subjects, and of the whole pollicie and Government of this Kingdome, which being destroyed, what security you could have devised for the maintaining of the Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of the Kingdome, as is promised you in his Majesties letter, I know not.

3. The third was not onely the preventing of the assistance of our Brethren in *Scotland*; But that which is worse, and must have necessarily followed thereupon, the embroiling of both the Nations in divisions, in all likelihood fatall unto both; this will appeare by putting together what hath beene done by the *Parliament*, those at
Oxford

Oxford, and the transactions in this designe.

The Parliament long since have invited that Nation to our assistance in this common cause upon weighty considerations.

As first, conceiving that by this meanes through Gods blessing, this great cause which concernes our Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and all we have, would be assured, and the event of the War, otherwise doubtfull, made more certaine.

2. Secondly, that by their assistance the war might be the sooner ended, and so by consequence the calamities which of necessity must accompany it, their assistance adding so considerable a strength to our party, besides the reputation which the concurrence of a whole Nation with us, will adde to the justnesse of the cause.

3. And thirdly, that as in likelihood by their joynt concurrence, a better Peace for present might be procured, so in all probability what shall be agreed upon would be the more lasting and durable, both Nations being equally interested in what should be agreed upon.

Besides the Covenant maturely sworn and agreed upon by both Nations for the maintenance and defence of Religion, and of the mutuall Lawes and Liberties of each Kingdome, a solemne league and Treaty hath likewise beene mutually agreed upon between the Parliament here and that Kingdome, concerning the manner of their assistance (and great sums of money have been thereupon sent unto them.) In which Treaty one Article is, *That neither Nation shall entertaine any Treaty of Peace, without the advice and consent of the other.* This in brieft contains the transactions between that Nation and the Parliament. At *Oxford* by papers in the forme of Proclamations, they have stiled this assistance, an Invasion of the Kingdome, and one end of the calling of that great Councell or Parliament

liament is for opposing of the same.

In the carriage of the present designe, by one of *Reads* letters to *Ryley* he saith, *That a dore is open by the comming in of the Scots for the destruction of this Kingdome, That therefore this Peace must presently be concluded. That all is lost unlessse it be done speedily.* The maine intent of the letter is for the speeding of it to that end. The Lord *Digbyes* letter to Sir *Basil Brooke*, referring the delivering of his Majesties letter to my Lord Mayor to his discretion, he forthwith delivers it to *Wood*, to be the next day delivered to my Lord Mayor, and he next day after the delivery to be by him published, He saw it necessary, and so resolved at *Oxford*, That we must speedily breake with the Scots.

Their assistance, how necessary, and by Gods blessing how beneficiall it is like to be unto us, I think you see, but this must be prevented; The honour and publike faith of Nations how Sacred it is, and from the rules of Religion and common policie, how tenderly to be preserved each man knowes; But this designe must violate and staine our honour in the highest: For contrary to the Article before mentioned, this Treaty must presently be set on foot without them; such violations are alwayes deeply resented by the parties injured: how dangerous therefore the consequence must needs have beene, he that runnes may reade.

This was the Designe: It was too Ugly, It was too Black, Bare fac'd, to have been presented to your view, and therefore it must be masqu't; This hook must be baited with the sweet word *Peace*; It hath been long since observed from the Ecclesiasticall proceedings of the Romish Church, That *in nomine Domini Incipit omne malum*; The Holy Name of God must bear out all their Spirituall wickednesses: The end of all Civill Policie is the preserving of just and Honourable *Peace*; and therefore these

these men when Divisions, Violence, and what is most contrary to *Peace* is intended, yet for the compassing of these ends, *Peace* must be pretended. So was it by many of them about this time twelve-moneth Designed in their Petition to the Parliament for a *Peace*, and so was it in the bloodie plot upon the Citie, and diverse Members of both Houses discovered the last Summer. For upon the examinations of diverse of them, It appeared that the ground of that plot was laid in the first Petition, and that the second was to have been guiled over with a Petition for *Peace*.

These men, (I speak of these designs) they cry *Peace*, *Peace*, that destruction might have come upon you as an armed man: You shal now hear the examinations and other things read at large unto you.

Sir,



S I R

HENRY VANE

JUNIOR,

*His Introduction to the Reading the severall Examinations
taken in this businesse, Together with severall Observations,
delivered by him upon occasion thereof.*

GENTLEMEN,

YOU have heard very fully the State of this business, by what the Persons that have already spoken, have opened to you in generall; that which you are now in the next place to have communicated to you, are the Examinations, as they proceeded from the mouthes of the Parties themselves, that you may see the Design in its lively colours, and that as you have had it summarily presented to you from this Noble Lord and worthy Gentleman; you may now hear the parties themselves speak.

*The first Examination that was taken, was the 4. of Jan.
1643. and it was the Examination of Theophilus*

Reyley, Who saith:

THat since Newbery fight, one Pitsons wife (whose Husband was taken at Newbery fight, was a Quartermaster, and formerly employed by this Examinant, as an Intelligencer) did move this Examinant to speak

to Col^{onel} *Harvey*, for some way to get her husband to be released, who replied, He would doe what he could, but conceived the best way was to apply her self to Col. *Harvey*, who could doe it, having Interest in my Lord Generall.

V Upon this occasion, it is necessary for me to give you this account likewise of this exchange, that it is very true, Col^{onell} *Harvey* did hereupon move his Excellency (that is now here present with you) but it was so conveyed, as it seems to Col. *Harvey* (whose merit is known very well among you, and how well he hath deserved of the Common-Wealth) that he did acquaint my Lord General with it, under the Not^{ion} of a person called Cap. *Reade*, that should be taken at *Burke* Castle, in a fight here in the Warres in *England*, thereby to disguise him to his Excellency, that so he might be induced to grant this Exchange, and by this handsome shift, it should seem (as you will hear by and by) that this warrant was procured from his Excellency, who had he known it, as he was notailable by the law, so his Excellency, from the tenderness he had to the good of the Common-Wealth, he would have had a care to have prevented it, but by this shift it was gotten.

Whereupon a warrant was procured from my L^{ord} Gen^{eral} for the release of Col. *Read*, in exchange for *James Pitson*, and the said Col. *Harvey* did write a letter to this Examinant to take security of Col. *Read* for the exchange aforesaid, and directed him to call for the Warrant which *Pitsons* wife, by the direction of this Examinant, did fetch from Col. *Harveys* wife, and brought the warrant to this Examinant, who thereupon did proceed as he was directed, to take security from Col^{onel} *Reade*, by which occasion this Examinant began to

be acquainted with the said *Reade*, who said that now he was released, he protested to God, no man was more wronged then he, that he had never born arms, that none wished happier to the State, for a good Peace, then hee; and that he would, upon his going to *Oxford*, make it appear, and endeavour the procuring of a Peace, at which time Master *Violet* a Goldsmith was present, who said, That the said *Reade* would be found to be as likely a man to procure Peace, as any in *England*, the security being given, the said *Reade* went to *Oxford*, and about a fortnight after, *Violet* came to this Examinants house, and desired to speak with him; for he had heard from *Reade*, and that he should see the said *Reade* would be a good Instrument for procuring of Peace, at which time *Violet* produced a Paper of Propositions for Peace, and asked his opinion, how they would relish with the Parliament, who replied, That he did verily thinke thatt he Parliament would not agree unto them all, in his opinion; the particulars this Examinant doth not well remember: that during the imprisonment of the said *Violet*, the said *Violet* came Two times to this Examinant, and told him, That *Reade* would worke the Queene to a Peace, as hee should see shortly, this ~~Reade~~ further saith, That upon the newes of ~~Reade~~ Prisoner at

IRREGULAR

PAGINATION

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to Colonel *Harvey*, for some way to get her husband to be released, who replied, He would doe what he could, but conceived the best way was to apply her self to Col. *Harvey*, who could doe it, having Interest in my Lord Generall.

Upon this occasion, it is necessary for me to give you this account likewise of this exchange, that it is very true, Col'onell *Harvey* did hereupon move his Excellency (that is now here present with you) but it was so conveyed, as it seems to Col. *Harvey* (whose merit is known very well among you, and how well he hath deserved of the Common-Wealth) that he did acquaint my Lord General with it, under the Notion of a person called Cap. *Reade*, that should be taken at *Burke* Castle, in a fight here in the Warres in *England*, thereby to disguise him to his Excellency, that so he might be induced to grant this Exchange, and by this handsome shift, it should seem (as you will hear by and by) that this warrant was procured from his Excellency, who had he known it, as he was notailable by the law, so his Excellency, from the tenderness he had to the good of the Common-Wealth, he would have had a care to have prevented it, but by this shift it was gotten.

Whereupon a warrant was procured from my L. Gen. for the release of Col. *Read*, in exchange for *James Pitson*, and the said Col. *Harvey* did write a letter to this Examinant to take security of Col. *Read* for the exchange aforesaid, and directed him to call for the Warrant which *Pitsons* wife, by the direction of this Examinant, did fetch from Col. *Harveys* wife, and brought the warrant to this Examinant, who thereupon did proceed as he was directed, to take security from Colonel *Reade*, by which occasion this Examinant began to

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be acquainted with the said *Reade*, who said that now he was released, he protested to God, no man was more wronged then he, that he had never born arms, that none wished happier to the State, for a good Peace, then hee; and that he would, upon his going to *Oxford*, make it appear, and endeavour the procuring of a Peace, at which time Master *Violet* a Goldsmith was present, who said, That the said *Reade* would be found to be as likely a man to procure Peace, as any in *England*, the security being given, the said *Reade* went to *Oxford*, and about a fortnight after, *Violet* came to this Examinants house, and desired to speak with him; for he had heard from *Reade*, and that he should see the said *Reade* would be a good Instrument for procuring of Peace, at which time *Violet* produced a Paper of Propositions for Peace, and asked his opinion, how they would relish with the Parliament, who replied, That he did verily thinke that the Parliament would not agree unto them all; in his opinion; the particulars this Examinant doth not well remember: that during the imprisonment of the said *Violet*, the said *Violet* came Two times to this Examinant, and told him, That *Reade* would worke the Queene to a Peace, as hee should see shortly, this Examinant further saith, That upon the newes of Sir *Arthur Haselriggs* kinsman being taken Prisoner at *Beaver* by the Enemy, this Examinant comming to my Lady *Haselriggs*, she (speaking of *Pitson*) sayd, Shee would be glad this Examinant would think of somebody for the exchange of her Kinsman, to which this Examinant then replied nothing: but after that, the said *Violet* comming to him, he demanded of *Violet*, if he could think of any one to be exchanged for Sir

Arthurs kinsman, who replied to this Examinant, Doe you thinke I might be exchanged for him, or to that effect, to which this Examinant answered, He would speak to Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* concerning him, who did so accordingly, and Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* prayed this Examinant to send *Violets* name, which this Examinant did; and thereupon by Order of the House, this exchange was appointed between Sir *Arthur Haselrigges* kinsman and *Violet*, and security taken accordingly, and the Bonds left at this Examinants house. Vpon Saturday night last, *Violet* came to this Examinants house, to know if the said warrant were obtained from my Lord Generall, for his release, and this Examinants man told him it was. the said *Violet*, upon taking his leave of this Exam. told him he would be back with him within three or foure dayes, and bring the Discharg of Sr *Arthur Haselriggs* Kinsman; and that there was a Letter already agreed upon at *Oxford*, to be written from the King to the City, about Petitioning him, and that it would be here on *New-years* day, and that accordingly the said *Violet* yesterday returned from *Oxford*, and this morning told this Examinant, That he had brought a Letter and a Message to Master Alderman *Gibbs*, and the Lord Major, and appointed him to meet with him againe to morrow at Nine of the Clock, the Examinant being then very busie.

THEOPHILUS R. M. T.

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This is the examination that was first taken of Master *Riley*; and at the same time when the Committee finished this examination, there chanced to fall from Master *Riley*, without any observation at that time by the Committee a paper upon the roome; which afterward the Committee also by accident, hardly observing what it should be, took up, and found it to be the Letter as was afterward confest from *Read* at Oxford to Master *Riley*, which Letter you shall now heare read; and in the second place Master *Riley* his confession that this letter was directed to him, and was the letter of *Read* to him; the letter is directed on the back of it for the man in the Moone, for when Master *Read* left this towne, there was a threefold character agreed upon for intelligence between Master *Read*, *Violet*, and Master *Riley*, Master *Riley* was to bee called the man in the Moone, Master *Violet* to be called *James Morton*, and Colonell *Read* to be called Colonell *Lee*, so according to this threefold character, Master *Riley* himselfe acknowledged this was that which was to be applied to him, the letter ye shall now heare read.

Sir,

I Wrote to you formerly but never had any answe, I assure you faithfully I have not bin wanting to doe what you desired (as you may perceiv by the effects) and if you have not your desire blame your selfe, but give me leave to tell you that if you neglect the opportunity now offered to you, it may bee you shall never have the like again; for I have made those whom you have given just occasion to bee your worst friends to be your best, and the only instrument to procure what here is sent you, and be you confident she shall still be

so, provided you do your part; consider I beseech you what a gap is open'd by bringing in of the Scots for the destruction of this Kingdome if there be not a peace, (which I pray God almighty to send speedily) you must expect armies of strangers from severall places, who are now preparing, who certainly at their comming in will overrun the whole Kingdome, and when it is past remedy, you wil see your own errors, and therefore to prevent more misery then I am able to express to this deplorable Kingdome, and the effusion of the blood of millions of men, women, and children which must inevitably be this summer, apply your selves in a humble and submissive way to his Majesty, whom I know you will find ready with arms outstretched to receive you to favour and mercy, and grant you favours even beyond your expectation, defer no time (for Gods sake) and what you will do; do it speedily, I say again doe it speedily and lose no time, for reasons I may not write.

The direction of the letter by the same hand that it is written within, is for the man in the Moone, without date.

Upon the falling downe of this note to the ground we examined Master Riley upon it, who did protest to us clearly hee did not know hee had this note about him, who did thereupon declare as you shall heare, that the note directed upon the backside to this examinant to the man in the Moone, he confesseth to be sent him a fortnight since from Colonell Read, & that he received another to this effect before, which is also here, & shall be read unto you. *The inscription upon the back of this letter is for the man in the Moone.*

Sir,

I Assure you I have not bin wanting to further your good desires, and if it be not your own faults I make no doubt

doubt but things will have a happy issue, for I find those that are most concerned in it forward enough, reflect now upon the misery of the times, & upon the groans and sufferings of those you see not, which yet have bin nothing to what they will be if not speedily prevented by a Peace; which to obtain, I beseech you, let it not only be your own care but the care of all those you love, or have power with; otherwise be confident of a generall ruine; which certainly will be inevitable both to your selves and posterity; and therefore take it into your serious consideration, and let not causelesse jealousies hinder you to apply your selves in a humble submissive manner to his Majesty, who I am sure will yet look upon you with a gracious eye, lose no time, for the longer you delay, it may prove more difficult, no doubt.

The former of these letters in this examination which is sign'd with his own hand, he doth acknowledge, this letter which hath bin first read; we shall read you his other examination wherein he likewise acknowledgeth this letter which hath bin since read, and you may observe upon these letters that this Gentleman Colonell *Read* (who as was told you, is a famous Jesuit) hath bin the Ring-leader in the rebellion of Ireland, O how tender hearted he is now to the Peace and liberty of this Kingdom, he hath there in Ireland kindled a flame, & rais'd a rebellion to hinder the good indeavours of this Parliament, which if it had not bin, you might have enjoy'd your liberties without this war and blood that hath bin since spilt, and now he returns a preacher here to exhort Mr. *Riley* for feare of this ruine which himselfe hath caused for to come to a Peace now, upon Propositions of his owne contri-

contriving, which are nothing else but a delivering your selves up to the designs of these Jesuites and Papists, who would in the same manner bring our Protestant blood to be spilt here in *England*, which without mercy they have already done in *Ireland*, I only tell you this by way of Observation.

Gent. This paper which was first read to you, confessed by Mr. *Riley* to be sent him from Col. *Reade*, falling thus strangely into our hands, who knew nothing of it, nor knew nothing at all of this conspiracy, we did thereupon tell M. *Riley*, that he could not but take notice of the finger of God, that would bring the same to light, and though from our tendernes and respect to him before, we would not examine him of his papers that were about him, we now did desire he would pull out his papers from his pocket, to let us see what he had beside, having done so; here is another paper directed likewise to M. *Theophilus Riley*, and it is but of four lines, but that which did likewise discover another person that we knew not of, to be interested in the businesse, and that is Sir *Basil Brooke*, It is directed for M. *Riley*, and it runs thus; Good Mr. *Riley*, these are to let you know, that I am returned from *Oxford*, with good successe in my businesse, and perceiving that you have appointed to meet B.B. at 9. of the Clock, I pray without fail, be here at the *Egen* in *Southwork* before 8. of the clock to morrow morning. It is subscribed T.V. that is, *Tho. Violet*, and dated *Wednesday. 3. Jan. 1643.* which was the day Mr. *Violet* returned from *Oxford*: was this good successe as he wrote here in the note, and the next morning it seems, Mr. *Riley* and Sir *Basil Brooke* appointed to meet at 9. of the Clock, and he desired him to meet an houre before, and M. *Riley* upon the examination confessed this B.B. was Sir *Basil Brooke*.

The further Examination of Theophilus Riley,
4. Iannar. 1643.

This Examinant being further demanded concerning a Letter directed for Master *Theophilus Riley*, and subscribed *T. V.* (which was the Letter last read to you) confesseth the said Letter was written to himselfe from *Thomas Violet*, and sent to him this morning; that *B. B.* mentioned in the Letter, is Sir *Basil Brooke*, as he conceives: that he hath twice had conference with Sir *Basil Brooke* at the three Cranes in the Vintrey, which time the said *Thomas Violet* was also there, this Examinant being brought thither by the said *Violet*, where they had discourse about the Treaty to be transacted by Colonell *Read*: that Sir *Basil Brooke* sent for this Examinant on Tuseday last to the three Cranes, where he told this Examinant, a Letter of grace and favour would be sent from the King so the Lord Major, that his Majesty would be willing to receive a Petition from the City: Then Sir *Basil Brooke* shewed to this Examinant a copy of the Kings letter, which was to this effect as he remembers: That whereas this City had been famous for their loyalty to the King, and that they had of late been disobedient, yet if they would petition to him, he would lovingly receive them, and protested how hee had ever endeavoured to maintaine the true Protestant Religion, Priviledges of Parliament, and liberties of the Subject: that there was a Messenger come already about this businesse; that *Violet* would returne within three or foure dayes, and upon that appointed another meeting upon Friday at nine of the clocke, in expectation of *Violet*'s returne. He further saith, that the like note to this shewed him, directed to the *Man in the moone*, was delivered to him by *Violet* about a fortnight sithence, and this Note was delivered to him by Sir *Basil Brooke* at the three Cranes on Munday or Tuseday last, both of them coming from Colonell *Read*.

T. Riley.

So there he acknowledgeth both these Letters, the one to be delivered him by this Violet, the other by Sir Basil Brooke.

He further saith, that the said *Violet* delivered this Examinant a paper of Propositions, demanding this Examinants opinion; who told him which he thought would be consented to by the Parliament, and which not: That the said *Violet* also asked this Examinant, whether there might not be thought on some Propositions that might please the King and Parliament.

Theophilus Riley.

Having proceeded to examine Master Riley thus farre, the Committee did likewise send for Sir Basil Brooke, who was Prisoner in the Kings Bench, and his Examination is that which is next to be read to you, and is the fifth of January 1643.

Who saith,

That he knowes Colonell *Read*; that he was the man (as hee thinkes) did designe the Treaty of peace, now in agitation betweene the King and the City: That hee knowes *Thomas Violet*; that he acquainted this Examinant with Propositions, which he knowes not whether himselfe drew, or that hee did it with the assistance of others: Who further saith, that Master *Violet* told this Examinant, that hee thought all those in the City that formerly shewed themselves for peace, would doe so now; among which was Alderman *Gibbes*, who had made a Speech tending that way in the house of Commons: that he knowes Master *Riley*, upon occasion of this businesse, and hath met with him at the three *Cranes* in the *Vintrey* two severall times, where he desired to know of the said *Riley*, whether if that a Letter came from the King, it might be a meanes to procure the City to move the Parliament for the procuring of a Treaty of peace? To which Master *Riley* replied, he thought the Lord Major and Common Councill would

would acquaint the Parliament with it and that it was probable thereupon Propositions might be thought upon, and a peace might issue. This Examinant being shewed the note directed to the *Man in the moone*, did confesse he received it from Master *Read* by *Wood*, and that he delivered it with his owne hands to Master *Riley* at the three Cranes at their second meeting, and saith that *Violet* told him this, that by the *Man in the moone* was meant Master *Riley*. This Examinant further saith, that in lesse then a fortnight one *Wood* brought severall Letters from *Oxford*; one from his Majesty, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and well-affected Citizens; another from the Lord *Digby* to this Examinant, and a Copy of the Kings Letter: That *Thomas Violet* returned from *Oxford* on Wednesday night, and brought with him Letters also from his Majesty, to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councell, a Letter from the Lord *Digby* to this Examinant, and a copy of his Majesties Letter; that the later of the Kings Letters is in the hands of the said *Wood*, and that the said Letter was given him on Thursday night, with direction to deliver it to the Lord Mayor: the rest of the Letters this Examinant hath in his power, and undertakes to deliver them to this Committee, and knoweth who hath the charge of them; that the Kings Letters differed very little, and were to this effect.

That the City had shewed great loyalty to the Kings predecessors, and had received great favours from them, and that he doubted not that he had many good subjects in the City that did desire Peace, and were weary of their misery; that he had sent these Letters to let them know he would confirme the Protestant Religion, and the liberties of the subjects, in any way they should devise, and that hee would bee ready to receive their petition, if they presented any to him, and give safe conduct to them they should send with their Petition.

That the substance of the Lord *Digbys* Letter was to direct him to deliver the Kings Letter, or to forbear, according as he found it probable the City were inclinable thereunto. That *Violet* did tell this Examinant, that hee conceived the City would be very well inclined to that the King expressed in his Letters, and thereupon would acquaint the Parliament with it.

That *Violet* told this Examinant hee had spoken with Alderman *Gibbes* and Master *Riley* since his returne from *Oxford*, and acquainted them that hee had brought a Letter from the King, and though Alderman *Gibbes* refused to have any thing to doe in the businesse but in a publike way, yet hee was conceived by *Violet* notwithstanding to be the same man hee was before, inclinable towards peace: He further saith, that he desired Mr. *Riley* to promise him secrecie in what he delivered to him, which he did. That *Violet* told this Examinant, that the King promised him to requite him well if the businesse succeeded; *Riley* also should bee well requited if a peace did follow. That at the meetings betweene this Examinant and Master *Riley*, at the three Cranes, the said *Riley* told him he thought the said Alderman *Gibbes*, and divers others in the City, would be for peace; and that hee thought that the Cities declaring for Peace, would be the most probable and best way to draw the Parliament to joine, and so to effect it. *Basil Brooke.*

The next Examination which shall be read to you,
is the Confession of *Violet*, written with
his owne hand.

Tho. Violet saith, that he being aboard the Ship called the *Prosperous Sarah*, for his twentieth part, hee did write two Letters, to my Lord Mayor and Alderman *Gibbes*, to entreat their assistance for bringing him on shoare; which was done within foure or five dayes, and he was committed to the prison of the Kings Bench.

That about ten dayes after, Master *John Read* was remanded from the aforesaid Ship to the prison of the Kings Bench, and lay in the same house part of the time of his stay in prison, where he procured to be exchanged for one that was taken by the Kings forces, and carried to *Oxford*; and understanding by Master *John Read* that the Warrant for the exchange was in Master *Riley*'s hands to take the security, hee went twice over with Master *Read*, to have the security taken; and Master *Read* then telling Master *Riley*, that if there were not a Peace, there would needs come a great destruction upon this Kingdome; *that*

that he would be a blessed Instrument that could procure peace; which Master *Riley* seconded.

Therupon Mr. *Read* told Mr. *Riley* and me, that when he came to *Oxford* he would intimate how he found things to incline to a peace, and protested hee would to the utmost of his power doe good offices in that behalfe, and that he would signifie how he found things to stand: Whereupon hee sent a small note to me, that I should tell Master *Riley*, he had moved him that was most concerned in the businesse, and that he found him very willing to imbrace any occasion to have these differences reconciled. And another Note he sent me, to goe to Master *Riley*, with a Superscription, *To the Man in the Moone*, in which he pressed earnestly, that if they would take into their consideration the groanes and sufferings of them they see not, and keep ruine from themselves and posterities, the likeliest way was to petition his Majesty, that to these great mischiefs might bee removed, and things brought to a good end betweene the King and Parliament; which Note I delivered to Master *Riley*.

Within a weeke after there was a Paper left at my Lodging, wherein were about ten Questions propounded, two of them I had formerly spoken of to Colonell *Read*, which was, That his Majesty would be pleased to passe an Act of Oblivion: And that, if his Majesty would come and sit with his Parliament, there was revenue enough to satisfie all demands in a peaceable way by the Excise, both for the King and Parliament. But finding divers other Questions in the Paper, I went to Master *Riley*, who upon perusal of the Paper, told me, that some three or foure of them he did conceive might very well be taken into consideration; and he did often desire before mee, that some course might be taken that his Majesty would signifie to the Parliament or Citie, that he would come up to the Parliament, and that the City would petition him in that behalfe.

Whereupon I went to Sir *David Watkins*, and knowing that he was a man zealous for the Parliament and Common-wealth, I told him.

Sir, I am come to you, to aske your advice in a businesse of great concernment, and if I did thinke there were any danger in the doing of it, I would not meddle with it: and

there

therefore I am come to you to desire your opinion in these things I present to you, and what you advise to doe in it. Whereupon I shewed him the paper wherein the Questions were. He asked me where I had them: I told him, I did conceive they came from Master *Read*, and declared to him most of the foresaid passages, but some of them I told him I had in the way of discourse spoken of to Master *Read*, but for the greatest part, I know nothing of it.

Sir *David Watkins* told me, if I would leave the Papers with him, he would aske a friend of his, and take advice; the next day I brought them to him, and he told me he did conceive many of the questions were good wayes for a Peace, and that the Parliament and City must first be moved in it, and for the present he would not do any thing in it, but would not speak of it to any one, but wished it might bring a good peace, and said the Excise would give content to both. Whereupon I told Mr *Riley*, that I would desire Sir *Basil Brook* to see if he could procure his Majesties Letters to the Parliament or City, to desire an Accommodation: And thereupon Sir *Basil Brooke*, before he did write any thing, desired to speak with Master *Riley* himselfe, to know what he did esteeme the Excise to be worth, and what way he desired to be taken concerning the Debts of the Publike Faith; and how the Kings ingagements might be satisfied, and what ground he had for what he should speake; and what he conceived the Excise to be worth a yeare, if the times were settled.

Whereupon Master *Riley* replied, he did esteeme it to be about three millions a yeare, if the times were quiet, which would quickly satisfie the debts on both sides; and afterwards a proportion of what should bee agreed on might goe for the encreasing of his Majesties revenue.

Their meeting was at the three Cranes in the Vintrey,
about

about a month agoe, and what assurance was spoken of, if the King would assent to come to his Parliament, he should have. Sir *Basil Brook* told Master *Riley*, that though he were a Papist, he suffered as much by the war as any other; for hee could not receive his rents, and Souldiers were billeted in his house, and therefore it concerned him to looke after peace as well as any other; and he would thank God, if he could be an instrument to bring a lasting and good Peace about.

Master *Riley* told him, there was no Question to be made but if the King would send a Letter to the *Militia* to that effect as this which his Majesty hath sent, they would petition the House about it; for without their consent they could not meddle in any thing: Which Sir *Basil Brook* told him he never expected or thought otherwise; and to this effect was their discourse. Whereupon he told Master *Riley*, he would take some course to see if he could perswade the King, by such friends as hee had about him, to send a Letter to the Parliament, or the City of London, to signifie the desire he had for Peace and unitie with all his subjects. Thereupon they parted, and the next morning Sir *Basil Brooke* spake to me, that he would write to my Lady Dutchesse of *Buckingham* to be a meanes to perswade the Queene, to be a visible actor to procure a peace, and that by that meanes she would procure the love of the people; and that shee would procure his Majesty to give an exchange for me, and that if I could have his Majesties Warrant to come to Oxford; which when he told me of, hee had written, though I did not see it: I made my petition to the *Militia*, my Lord Mayor, and Alderman *Gibbes*. I writ a letter, and desired Master *Riley* to deliver it to them; desiring them to move the *Militia* that I might have liberty to goe to Oxford, upon putting in baile
to

to pay 70.li. or to return to London within 20 daies, which was not granted: Then I desired Mr *Riley* to find me an exchange, which he did, and I am now againe returned with the Kings pleasure in that busines concerning my exchange. There was a Letter sent downe by Sir *Basil Brook*, by *Wood*, concerning what was desired, but the King would not send it to the Parliament, but writ the Letter as it is come up, and in Sir *Basil Brooks* custody, with a power in him onely, from my L. *Digby*, to deliver it, if he thought it would work the effect of a blessed peace: and upon my salvation never any thing entred into my heart, but to do all things for the honour of the Parliament, and good of the commonwealth, to my power. When I came to Court, on Tuseday morning, I found the King in the garden, and *Read* took me away and brought me to the L. *Digby*, and presently my L. *Digby* told me he had sent up the Kings letter by one *Wood*, to the Lo, Mayor, Aldermen, and common Councell, which was delivered to Sir *Basil Brook*, to which letter I humbly refer my self: and another letter was sent up to Sir *B. Brook*, if he saw good to deliver the letter, under the L. *Dighies* hand, which letter I brought up, and delivered it to Sir *Basil Brook*, and that was not to be delivered unles Sir *Basil Brook* saw good, and that it would be a means to work a blessed peace: since I came to Towne I told Sir *David Watkins*, Alderman *Gibs*, *Rily*, *Joseph Aldermen Gibbs* his man, and some others, that there was hope of a blessed peace: all which I humbly submit to your grave wisdomes. That I was to tell my L. Major, the King had directed his letter to him Lord Major of London, which (*Read* told me) was his Majesties pleasure, which he did, hearing he was a moderate man in his place: and for Alderman *Gibs*, his Majesty did recommend it to his care, that he would further the businesse, as he should think best (according to the Letters) for accomplishing a happy peace.

Master

M. *Ryly* told me that it could be no trouble to me to bring up these Letters, for when they have brought up any Message to the Lord Major and Common-Councell, they will doe nothing in it till they have acquainted the Parliament, and receive their direction what answer to give. Sir *David Watkins* told me, that after it was recommended to the house, he would assist it both by himselfe and friends to the uttermost of his power for a peace; and the reason he gave me, was, that if a peace was concluded, he hoped to be reimbursed the money he hath layd out, and that the Parliament would look well to the keeping of the Covenant; the reason M. *Ryly* gave, that the Letters should be directed to the City, was, that he did beleieve, if the King did write to them he would not touch upon any thing of the differences between King & Parliament, but leave it to the City to Petition the Parliament, without whose consent and privy he and Sir *D. Watkins* could or would doe nothing, for it was resolved the House should know and give their directions for every thing. Beside Sir *B. B.* in his directions from the King, was to be assured that this Letter would be a meanes to work a blessed peace, or else to forbear the delivery, and afore Sir *B. B.* wrote about it, he did speak to M. *Ryly* to know how he should be assured of the good inclination of the City for a Peace, to whom M. *Ryly* reply'd, there was no question of it but it would, and it was resolved that hint and request of the Militia for a peace to the houses, was ground enough for the King to take notice of, the inclination of many of his Subjects in London for a peace. And to this last, when I told Sir *D. Watkins* of the way which was intended, the King would take notice of the inclination, by that message he did approve of it, that M. *Ryly* meeting at the Taverne in Cheapside, the signe of the man in the moon, did give order to *Read* when he writ to him to write by that name, *Reads* name was to be knowne by M. *Lee* and *Thomas Violets* name by *Morton*, but that I never received any note from *Read*, other then I have declared.

Tho. Violet.

You shall heare now a further Examination of *Tho. Violet*, who being shewed a note, beginning; Sir, I assure you, an ending may prove the more difficult, which was the former note I read that was delivered to M. *Ryly*, by *Violet* himselfe. He acknowledgeth he received this note from one *Wood*, who told this Examiner, it came from one *Colonell Read*, whose hand writing he conceived it was, but it was to be delivered to M. *Ryly*, which this Examiner did accordingly, in a

day or two after his receipt, by occasion of meeting the said M. Ryley, and M. Ryley's inquiring of him what *Read* had done in the business of Peace.

He saith, that Sir *Bazill Brooke* wished him to tell the *Queene* (which he did) that if she would be a mediator in this peace, she would make her selfe very famous and glorious, and get the love againe of all the people, and that there would be enough as he did conceive out of the Excise to satisfie all Publique debts. And that he should acquaint the *Queene* that M. Ryley had told him, that as soone as the Kings Letter was brought up, it should be communicated to the Common-Councell, and from thence to the house, which in all probability would be a certaine way for peace.

The *Queene* hereupon replied, that she would be glad with all her heart to be a mediator betweene the King and his people, and that this Examinat should deserve very well in promoting this worke, and took it very kindly from this Examinat, and Sir *Bazill Brooke*; and that she would study to requite it.

That the same Message that this Examinat delivered to the *Queen*, he presented also to the King, who expressed a good acceptance, of the business.

This Examinat further saith, that for the better effecting of the peace desired, it was thought fit by consent of Sir *Bazill Brooke*, and M. Ryley, that this Examinat should prepare a rough draught of a Letter for the King to write to the City, which was by this Examinat after it was drawne by himselfe to be communicated to M. Ryley, and Sir *Bazill Brooke*, for their advice concerning the same, which was accordingly done by this Examinat, and thereupon the said Sir *Bazill Brooke* in the first place did polish and amend the rough draught framed by this Examinat, and M. Ryley after him did also make some alterations, which done, this Examinat did then communicate it to Sir *David Watkins*, who approved thereof, and thereupon this frame of the Letter was sent to *Oxford* by one *VVood*, about fourteene dayes since, and was delivered by *VVood* to Col. *Read*, who procured the Kings Letter accordingly with some alterations, in forme, but little in substance, which was brought to Sir B.B. by *Wood* upon monday last, being the first of this instant *January*, to present to the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Councell, and from thence to Communicate it to the House of Parliament.

The *Vakers*.

The further Examination of Sir Bazill Brooke, who saith, that M. Violet did frame the rough draught of the Letter for his Majesty to write to the City, that when it was communicated by the said Violet to this Examinat, he did polish and mend the English of it, that afterward the said draught of the Letter was sent to Oxford about 14 dayes since or thereabouts, and delivered by one John Wood to Colmell Read, who procured the Kings Letter accordingly in substance, though with some alterations in forme; which Letter was brought under the Kings hand & Signet to Sir B. B. upon monday last being the first of this instant, to present it to the L. Major, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council, and from thence to be communicated to the House of Parliament.

Bazill Brook,

In this Examination observe only thus much, That whatever pretence there was of having the grace and favour of the King, so be communicated in his gracious Letter, that this grace and favour was of the contrivement of Sir B. B. or M. Ryley, and M. Violet here in this City before hand, and that they gave reasons and arguments to the Court afterward, why they should send it. And in it Sir David Watkins that is named in this, is a party, it is true he was acquainted with this businesse, but did discover it in part ten dayes before it came to light, to some Members of the house of Commons, and did freely come himselfe before he was sent for to the Committee, and desired that it might be found out and searched,

This is the last Examination we shall read in this businesse, after which you shall heare the Letters themselves, of the Lord Digby and his Majesty, the 7 of January, 1643.

The further Examination of Sir Bazill Brooke.

That George Wood, mentioned in his former Examination, is called John Wood, who was an Apprentice to a Merchant in the City, and recommended by Read to this Examinat, as a fit man to be trusted to carry Letters between Oxford and this place in this businesse. That Violet with the advice of of M. Ryley as this Examinat beleeveth, framed some Propositions, about 13 or 14 in number, which were brought to this Examinat by Violet, which mended the English of them; which Propositions were reduced afterward to six by Violet, Ryley, or both, and afterward was with the approbation of this Examinat.

That this Examinat at the three Cranes in the Vinny, did meet with M. Ryley and Violet, to confer upon the said Propositions, and to consider of the probability of them to please this City and Parliament, which

afterward were carried to *Oxford*, by the said *Wood* to Colonel *Read*, who returned an answer, that he thought the King would approve of them upon a Treaty, which might be betwene the City and some Parliament men joyned with them.

That *Wood* also, when he dwelt with his Master neere the *Stewke*, and was imployed about taking up the exchange of monies, and since that time the Examinat saith, the said *Wood* told him he served in the wars, particularly he served in the Battel at *Newbury*, and being asked, whether he knew the usuall abode of the said *Wood*, or how to find him out upon occasion, he saith he doth not know.

That the Propositions formerly mentioned, this Examinat remembereth to be these, or to this effect.

1. That the City might be satisfied, that the King would settle the Protestant Religion, for without that neither the Parliament nor City would admit any Treaty.

2. That the debts contracted upon the Publike Faith, on either side by King or Parliament, should be satisfied; and the most likeliest way for the doing thereof was to settle the Excise for those purposes.

3. That it was conceived, that in respect of the Kings Declaration, that the Parliament was no Parliament, and that therefore the King could not Treat with them any more, this Treaty was to be immediately betwene the King and the City, and the City was to be the medium betwene the King and Parliament.

And this Examinat further saith, That the said *Wood* told the Examinat; that if any Parliament men would joyne with the City in this Treaty, they also might come with them to *Oxford*, under the safe conduct granted to the City, though it were not exprest in the Kings Letter; and that the said *Wood* received directions at *Oxford*, for this Examinat to declare so much to whom he should thinke fit.

4. That there must be an Act of oblivion for all parties and Delinquents whatsoever, and a generall pardon, that no Cessation should be expected during the Treaty, if there had beene any; That no mention was made in all these Propositions, either of *Scotland* or *Ireland*.

That this Examinat doth remember, That *M. Alderman Gibs* and *M. Ryley*, were thought upon as fit men to be sent to *Oxford* about the Treaty, as being persons inclined to the furtherance of Peace. That *Wood* told this Examinat, that it was wished from *Oxford* that the said parties might be imployed in this Treaty, that *Read* being to procure his release, first made a Petition to the Militia, by the Name of *John*

Read Gent. to secure his quality as Colonell; under pretence that he was a poore man, and had children in great want; in which business the said Read made use of some Citizens to promote this Petition. That M. Ryley told the said Read, when his release was obtained, that he might perceive notwithstanding he might have bene hindered from his enlargement, but that he said he knew no opposition, and the more he wished him to labour to requite this curtesie, by endeavouring a peace betweene the King and City when he came to Oxford, which he said he would doe.

Bazill Brooke.

Upon this examination you may observe that which will give you most light in this designe, it was made so plausible, not onely under the name of Peace, but is must be that which must answer all mens expectations, and that which most pinched, which was that the debts of the Publike Faith should be paid by these propositions, by the settling of the Excisemen all things should be established, that every thing which the Parliament in their wisdom and care, would prevent that when your lawes take their freedom, and when you enjoy your liberties, you should have no such extraordinary courses now on foot only for this extraordinary occasion, this must be the way and the means when your liberties are settled, to bring you under the greatest slavery that is, to bring those things upon you that when you have paid all, but must not only pay you that have borne the burth here, but justify all the Delinquents on the Kings side also.

And secondly you may observe clearly that now the Parliament must sit under a cloud by this treaty, it must be by the King and the City, the Parliament must be wholly obscured and covered: The Kings Proclamation which is but a Paper and forme of a Proclamation must have authority to dissolve a Parliament called by an Act of Parliament, and that is the end, but while you have laid you for your liberties and peace to be settled you might have made such a president as never to have recovered a Parliament againe, but in stead of that Act of Oblivion, you might have made an Act for to have buried all Parliaments in Oblivion; this was the right state of this Designe.

This Letter, Gentlemen, was directed to Sir Bazill Brooke, in an outward Cover. The Letter here which is for Sir Bazill Brooke; it is under my Lord Digbys own hand, it is the Letter which Wood brought to Towne on Monday night last.

Oxford 29. Dec-

cemb. 1643.

Your affectionate Servant
George Digby.

SIR,



SIR,

THe King and Queene have both commanded me, to give you thanks in their Name for your care and diligence in their service; and His Majesty hath so much confidence in your discretion, and warinesse not to be deluded, that in the hopes of the good effects towards a happy peace, which you seeme to promise your selfe from this negotiation, His Maiesty is pleased to descend very far in writing so gracious a Letter to those who may seeme to have deserved so ill of him.

I send you herewithall a copy of the Letter in selfe, which varies only in stile, not in matter, from that draught which was sent downe hither, which if you like and continue your confidence that it might be effectuell to so blessed an end, as peace and union; you are to deliver to those parties seconded with assurance of his Maiesties most gracious and sincere inclinations, to give them full satisfaction in all their reasonable desires; but if you shall finde cause

to lessen the beliefe of a powerfull effect by this Letter of His Maiesties; It is then recommended to your discretion to forbear the delivery of it, since it would be a very unfit thing, to expose so great a grace, and condescending of his Maiesty to hazards of being made frustrate and contemned. God send you happy successe in this great undertaking; I professe it is that wherewith my beliefe and reason goe along more comfortably, then with any thing I have known in projection since these troubles. But it is not fit to ravel further into the businesse this hazardous way, and therefore I shall adde no more, but I am

Oxford 29. Dec-
emb. 1643.

Your very affectionate Servant

GEORGE DIGBY.

Gentlemen,

GENTLEMEN,

If there had beene no Comment made upon this businesse, this Letter would have beene enough. This Letter acknowledgeth the draught that was sent from the City of London, from those that had contrived it here, and that it was pass the Court at Oxford, without any materiall alteration, this Letter likewise acknowledgeth so much wisdom, so much caution in Sir Bazill Brooke that knowne sutes Papist, as hath bin told you before, so much tendernes of his Majesties Honour to be in him, that all is left to his discretion, as he thinks fit of: If he finde the Temper of the City to be right, to be delivered, it is left to his caution, to his warinesse, to his sence and measure of his Majesties honour, to doe in it as he pleaseth: there is likewise held forth unto you, that in his opinion (which is my Lord Digbys opinion) there was nothing that ever he observed of any projection (It is his owne word, and therefore you may the better observe it) that he never observed any thing in projection, or in designe all this Parliament, tending this way, that was more likely and probable to bring the Kings ends about: And if you remember this till you haere another Letter of his read by and by, which there declares plainly. that the Kings end in his Councils now about him, is never to acknow'edge this to be a Parliament: Compare that with this heere, and then you may understand what a project this was.

In the last place you may observe that the Lord Digby his great inclinations as well as Sir Bazill Brookes, for a blessed peace, and a blessed union in this Kingdome, when you know very well there hath not beene a more unhappy instrument to blow up jealousies and misunderstandings betweene his Majesty and his People, and that durst not stand the iudice of Parliament, but was faine to fly out of the Kingdom for it, and at the beginning of these unhappy distraction he advised his Majesty to retire into some strong place, the better to engage him in a warre upon his Subiects. And yet no other phrase in his mouth but a happy peace, and a blessed union, to cozen poore people, to lead them into snares.



This Letter on the outside is thus directed,

To Our Trusty and welbelov'd, Our Lord Major and Aldermen of Our City of London, and all other our well affected Subjects of that City. It is Superscribed, Charles Rex. And beneath, By His Majesties Command, George Digbie.



Rusty and welbelov'd, We greet you well. When We remember the many Acts of Grace and favour We & Our Royall Predecessours have conferred upon that Our City of London, and the many Examples of eminent Dutie and Loyalty, for which that City hath been likewise famous, We are willing to beleeve, notwithstanding the great defection We have found in that place, that all men are not so far degenerated from their Affection to Vs and to the Peace of the Kingdom, as to desire a continuance of the miseries they now feel, and therefore being informed, that there is a desire in some principall Persons of that City to present a petition to Us, which may tend to the procuring a good understanding between Us and that Our City, whereby the peace of the whole Kingdom may be procured: We have thought fit to let you know, That We are ready to receive any such Petition, and the Persons who shall be appointed to present the same to Us, shall have a safe Conduct, And you shall assure all Our good Subjects of that Our City, whose hearts are touched with any sense of duty to Vs, or of Love to the Religion and Lawes established, in the quiet and peaceable Fruition whereof they and their Ancestors have enjoyed so great Happiness, That We have neither passed any Act, nor made any Profession or Protestation for the maintenace and

F

Defence

Defence of the true Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of the Subject, which We will not most strictly and Religiously observe; and for the which we will not be alwaies ready to give them any security can be desired. And of these Our Gracious Letters We expect a speedy Answer from you. And so We bid you farewell.

*Given at Our Court at Oxford, in the 19. year of Our Reign:
26. Decemb. 1643.*

GENTLEMEN, In this Letter also you may observe some few particulars upon the reading of it over:

First, the good informations his Majesty hath of the inclinations of his people here, how that some principall men in this City, as it seems; was informed him, were very willing for to petition him to peace, the grounds of this you know, upon what hath been offered already, how they came to be presented to him, and that by expressing of it here in his Letter, it was rather to win your affections to it, under these plausible pretences, then that he had any reall or solid ground for any such thing.

In the second place you may observe thus much, as hath been told you already, that his Majesties scope in this Letter, and the design of the Counsell about him, is to invite you of this City to be his interposers for the peace of the whole Kingdom, as if there were no Parliament sitting, or as if you had quite forgot the trust that your selves have reposed in this present Parliament; for he saith he would have

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by see upon what ground these things are got from his Majestie, and upon what counsels; and withall, consider what colour of ground you can have to receive any fruit from any such Declarations and Protestations as these are, when they must only serve to amaze you, till this Parliament, and in this all Parliaments are for ever rooted out, and destroyed.

The next Letter that is to be offered to you, is the Letter of the Lord *Digby*, upon another occasion, which was presented to the Houses by a Noble Lord that is here present, his Excellencie, my Lord *Generall*, who intercepted it, going beyond Sea: you shall understand there yet more clearly what manner of counsels his Majesty is now upon at *Oxford*, which Letter shall be now read unto you.

For my very worthy Friend, Sir Henry De Vic.

From Oxford the 27. Decemb. 1643.

Your very affectionate Friend and Servant,

George Digby.

Sir: My indisposition the last week forc't me to refer you to my Secretary for an account of what Occurrences that afforded: This week hath been so little productive of any thing Considerable, that when I shall have told you of taking of *Boston Castle* in *Cheshire*, by his Majesties Forces under the Lord *Biron*, a place of huge Importance, both for strength and Command of all those countries of *Cheshier*, *Lancashire*, and some parts of *Stafford*, and *Darbishiere*, I shall have told you all, the Marquesse of *Newcastle* having attempted nothing since the taking of *Winckfield Mannor*: *Plimouth* remaining still in its former condition besieged, and there having been nothing done between my Lord *Hopton* and Sir *Walliam Waller*, since the unlucky beating up of one of our Quarters at *Alton*; But we are in daily expectation of a criticall Blow between them:

Defence of the true Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of the Subject, which We will not most strictly and Religiously observe; and for the which we will not be alwaies ready to give them any security can be desired. And of these Our Gracious Letters We expect a speedy Answer from you. And so We bid you farewell.

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The third thing is this, That his Majesty declares, that there is no act he hath hitherto passed in Parliament, but he will be most willing to confirm, a Declaration that is renewed; upon all occasions, but never otherwise observed then it is now: for in the mean time that act whereby this Parliament is a Parliament, whereby all other acts of Parliament, and the whole frame of the Lawes of this Kingdome are confirmed and preserved, that very act in this design is to be laid aside, and utterly to be destroyed. And this Treaty is brought about for no other ends, but to destroy that; so that you may plainly

ly see upon what ground these things are got from his Majestie, and upon what counsels; and withall, consider what colour of ground you can have to receive any fruit from any such Declarations and Protestations as these are, when they must only serve to amaze you, til this Parliament, and in this all Parliaments are for ever rooted out, and destroyed.

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The Lord *Wilmot* being now joyned with the Lord *Hopson*, with a fresh strength of a thousand Horse, and both being under march to attain *Waller*, who hath possess'd himself of Arundell-Town, we having a strong Garrison in the Castle, and it is probably hoped, he cannot avoid fighting with him upon disadvantage: Thus much for the Military part. The Prince *de Harcourts* Negotiation, by way of Intermise for an Accommodation, is well nigh at an end, as I beleve, for that the pretended Parliament will not hearken to any Propositions from him, in any other way, then of an avowed addresse, by which they might seem either to be owned by him as a Parliament, and applied to by him as an Ambassadour; or else to be admitted by the King, for somewhat more considerable, then He hath in a long time owned them for: A point which His Majestie may not suffer them to gain without subverting the grounds & Maxime of all his late proceedings against them, and that which He now goes upon by the advice of all his Nobility here, as you will perceive by this inclosed Proclamation, upon the effects thereof all the Eyes of the Kingdom are now fixed, God send them to be as good actuated, as they are in speculation, for I am confident that in reason it carries Probability, of the surest and readiest way to the reestablishment of His Majestie, and his Iust Rights and powers, of any course that hath been yet attempted: This is all, more then the heartiest respects of

Your affectionated Servant :
George Digby.

I have received yours of the 19. and will by the next give you an account of that particular in it, that concernes your self.

Gentlemen, this letter for what concerneth the Military part of it, I beleve your own knowledges are able to give your selves the best judgement, how that that Criticall blow that he there spea- keth of is now fallen in great part upon their own heads, and that thanks be to God Sir *William Waller* being now in the Castle of *Arundell*, having taken above 1000. or 1200. prisoners, and some 100. and odde Officers, with all other things delivered to him, we see which way the Criticall blow is fallen: for which we have all cause to acknowledge the goodnesse of Almighty God. The second part declareth to your consideration, that boldnesse and confidence, which breakes forth in the Lord *Digbyes* Pen, that it seemeth he hath forgotten he hath been a Parliament man, he calleth that Parliament which is settled by Act of Parliament, the very name whercof ought to be sacred to the cares of all true English men and lovers of their Countrey, he calls a pretended Parliament. That which durst never be called, sayd, or written at any time heretofore in *England* by any whatsoever.

The second thing you may observe is this,

That that councill of Nobility which you will heare of by and by in a Proclamation, must now not onely be of a Councell of Nobility there, but of all those that have beene likewise expelled out of the house of Commons or house of Peeres, or withdrawn themselves from their duty, and the trust put in them by their Country: all these now must assemble together, and what to do? To settle his Majesties just rights and Power; and this just right and power is to make this Parliament, though settled by an Act of Parliament, a pretended Parliament, or in a word to give our lawes, liberties, or rights a being or not a being solely in his Majesties pleasure; how just that is, you your selves may easily discern, and how destructive it would be to you. A third thing considerable in this letter is, that though his Majestie should have any inclination to doe his Parliament right, to acknowledge them a Parliament, yet my Lord *Digby* saith it is a point that must not be suffered. It is a point which his Majestie must not permit to be gained, though it be but to do the Parliament that right, as to acknowledge what they are by Act of Parliament, his faithfull and Supreme Councell. But in stead of this, as you will heare by a Proclamation of the 22. of *December*; All the members of both Houses that have forsaken their Country, deserted the cause, contributed to undermine the State and Kingdome, and expose them to the

the prey of the Irish Rebels. This must be the wholesome advice about his Majestie, and this wholesome advice must beheld up, though with the unnaturall ruin of this Parliament, wch must not be acknowledged; but another thing, set up in forme of a Parliament, somewhat like a Parliament therby to delude simple people, if it were possible that might take place, to subvert the Lawes of this Kingdome, and subject al our liberties to an arbitrary power, under pretence of Law, to the worst of all evils. By this you may easily understand the drift of the Councels that are at *Oxford*, and this use we ought to make of it, to unite our selves with more strong resolutions and unwearied affections then ever, with our purses, lives, and estates, to labour to redeeme our selves from this misery and thralldome that is threatened us, and now appearing in more cleare Demonstrations than ever yet it hath.

You shall now heare the Proclamation it selfe read; this Paper that is now to be read to you, is that which commeth in the forme of a Proclamation: for as you well know, the great Seal of *England* is now with the Parliament, and the other great Seal by the Ordinance is made voide: and such is the confidence they have of this good doctrine of theirs, and to set up another Parliament in the roome of it, and to proceede upon these principles and grounds, they think it necessary to send it beyond sea, hoping hereby to unite all Popish Princes upon this point, who know very well, the true Protestant Religion must inevitably be rooted out, if this Protestant Parliament be made no Parliament or destroyed, in which all our other Lawes at the same time, and upon the same grounds are no Lawes, but must perish also.

By



By the King

A Proclamation for the Assembling the
Members of both Houses at *Oxford*, upon
occasion of the Invasion by the *Scots*.

VWhereas We did by Our Proclamation, bearing date the twentieth day of June last, upon due consideration of the miseries of this Kingdom, and the true cause thereof, warn all Our good Subjects no longer to be misled by the Votes, Orders, and pretended Ordinances of One or Both Houses, by reason the Members do not enjoy the Freedom and Liberty of Parliament, which appears by severall instances of Force and Violence, and by the course of their proceedings mentioned in Our said Proclamation, and severall of Our Declarations: since which time Our Subjects of Scotland have made great and Warlike preparations to enter and invade this Kingdom with an Army, and have already actually invaded the same, by possessing themselves, by force of Armes, of Our Town of Barwick, upon pretence that they are invited thereunto by the desires of the two Houses; the which as we doubt not all Our good Subjects of this Kingdom will look upon as the most insolent Act of ingratitude and disloyalty, and to the apparent breach of the late Act of Pacification so solemnly made between the Kingdoms, and is indeed no other then a designe of Conquest, and to impose new Lawes upon this Nation, they not so much as pretending the least protection or violation from this Kingdom: so We are most assured that the Major part of both Houses of Parliament, do from their souls abhorre the least thought of introducing that Forraigne Power, to encrease and make desperate the miseries

ries of their unhappy Countrey. And therefore that it may appear to all the world how far the Major part of both Houses is from such Actions of Treason and disloyalty, and how grossely those few Members remaining at Westminster have and do impose upon Our People; We do Will and require such of the Members of both Houses, as well those who have been by the Faction of the Malignant Party expelled for performing their duty to Us, and into whose roomes no Persons have been since chosen by their Countrey, as the rest who have been driven thence, and all those who being conscious of their want of Freedom, now shall be willing to withdraw from that Rebelious City, to assemble themselves together at Our City of Oxford, on Sunday the twenty second day of January, where care shall be taken for their severall Accommodations. and fit places appointed for their meeting, and where all Our good Subjects shall see how willing We are to receive Advice for the Preservation of the Religion, Lawes and safety of the Kingdom, and, as far as in Us lies, to restore it to its former Peace and Security (Our chief and only end) from those whom they have trusted, though We cannot receive it in the place where We appointed. And for the better encouragement of those Members of either House to resort to us, who may be conscious to themselves of having justly incurred Our displeasure by submitting to, or concurring in unlawfull actions; And that all the World may see how willing and desirous We are to forget the Injuries and Indignities offered to Us, and by an Union of English hearts, to prevent the lasting miseries which this Forraigne Invasion must bring upon this Kingdom, We do offer a free and Generall Pardon to all the Members of either House, who shall at, or before the said twenty second day of January appear at Our City of Oxford, and desire the same, without Exceptions; which considering the manifest Treasons committed against Us, and the condition We are now in, improved by Gods wonderfull blessing to a better degree then We have enjoyed at any time since these Distractions, is the greatest instance of Princely and fatherly Care of Our People that can be expressed, and which Silence it self cannot suggest to proceed from any other ground. And therefore We hope, and are confident, that all such who upon this Our gracious Invitation will not return to

to their duty and Allegiance, shall be no more thought Promoters of the Religion, Lawes and Liberty of the Kingdom (which this way may be, without doubt, settled and secured) but Persons engaged from the beginning, out of their own Pride, Malice, and Ambition, to bring confusion and desolation upon their Country, and to that purpose (having long since contrived the Designe) to invite and sojourn with a Foreign Nation to ruine and extinguish their own; and shall according be pursued as the most desperate and malicious Enemies of the Kingdom. And Our Pleasure is, That this Our Proclamation be read in all Churches and Chappells within this Our Kingdom, and Dominion of Wales.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, the 22th day of *December*,
in the Nineteenth year of Our Reigne. 1643.

God save the King.

GENTLEMEN, I believe upon the reading of this Paper, which is put forth in the forme of a Proclamation; you cannot but discern a great affinity in it to this present businesse that is now before you; which is to occasion division between the City and the Parliament, to raise factions in both, and to lay open as much as possible may be to the power and malice of their enemies, howsoever they cover themselves under these fair and specious expressions, which you have heard before.

This Proclamation doth very ill agree with his Majesties Letter; here it is called the disobedient and Rebellious City; in this Proclamation; and here the Parliament is indeavoured to be brought from you, though before you were the only darlings in his Majesties eye; whereby they might have served their turns and their ends of you: In that therefore you must have as fair and good words as possible may be. But now in this on the contrary side, when it is to work upon the Parliament, then you must be called an odious and rebellious City, to draw them from you to *Oxford*. This sufficiently discovers how palpable and grosse they are, that all this faire and soule weather is made up only to shift hands to work the same designe of sowing division and dissension among us, that so their party might prevail: you may likewise observe from the title of this Proclamation, which

is by occasion of the invasion of the Scots, that they themselves have forgotten the cessation of Ireland; whereby they have let loose worse then a foreign nation, a nation imbued in the Protestant blood, and settled upon principles, for the utter destruction of the Religion and Lawes of this Kingdom: I say you may discern thereby how far forth the cessation of Ireland is forgotten, that complies with all this: For after they had murdered almost all the Protestants there, and after they have layd that Kingdom waste, they must have an opportunity to be let into this Kingdom, and no counsell called about it to hinder them, but rather the counsell to bring them over; and the principall actors in that rebellion must be neere his Majesties heart. For the coming of the Scots, I believe you all know very well, that the Parliament did think fit, finding how neer the interest of these two Nations were conjoynd in one, finding the constant love and amity of that Kingdom to this, and how in its greatest extremity it was very punctuall to it; how that the last time it was here, it was very punctuall and carefull to observe all conditions, and at the desire of the Parliament, return back again according to their promise: they thought it fit to enter into a Treaty with them in a solemn Covenant, which Treaty is now solemnly ratified by both Kingdomes; yet this must be called an Invasion. When they were last in the Kingdom, if they would have joyned with that Army, to have come up against the Parliament, they might have had very large conditions, but that is now forgotten; the offers that were then made to them, I believe you have heard of already, which was, that they should have the foure Northern Counties, formerly esteemed their ancient bounds; that they should have three hundred thousand pounds in mony paid them down at *Newcastle*; that they should have the plunder of the City of *London*, and that all manner of grace or honour that his Majesty could bestow upon particular persons: this is that which those that have been in *Scotland* know was then sent by way of Proposition, by Sir *Joh. Hinderbury*, who is now at *Oxford*; they then rejected those with scorn and did refuse to make an Invasion upon this Parliament, but kept true and faithfull to the Parliament. And upon this experience the Parliament thought fit to make use of them again, against the publike danger, against the ruine of the Protestant Religion, which is threatned in all his Majesties three Dominions; and therefore as for that point, though for the present we cannot give you the full and large Declaration, as hereafter will come forth from both Houses; yet it is necessary to acquaint you with thus much, that you may not be amazed by any such printed Papers as these are.

Here

(31)
Here is a second paper in the forme likewise of a Proclamation, whereby you shall see the unevennesse, and unsteddinesse of His Majesties Counsell; at least in appearance; for though they be steddie and united in that which is to bring destruction, and ruin upon the Parliament and Kingdom; yet you may see them halt in their expressions: Before you were called a famous Citie, you had deserved so well, and had all encouragements offered you; here on the contrary you shall see what language is given you, and because the welfare of this Citie consists much in the residence of this Parliament, and Courts of Iustice that are here; And of such persons of quality, as are necessarily attendant thereupon. It is not now only thought fit to call away the Parliament from you, but the Courts of Iustice, that so you might be left a miserable confused Citie; notwithstanding all the faire words and promises that have been given you.



BY THE KING.

A Proclamation for the removing of the Courts
of Kings-Bench, and of the Exchequer,
from Westminster to Oxford.

VV Hereas the sole power of appointing the Place or Places, in which Our Great Courts of Justice shall be kept, and of removing them from one place to another, as urgent occasion shall make Us, by the Lawes of this Kingdom is inherent in Our Royall Person. And whereas it is of great importance to Our service in these times of difficulty and distraction, to have Our Judges of Our said Courts to attend neer unto Us, by whose advice We may the better proceed in all those Cases wherein the Judgement and knowledge of the Lawes is required. And whereas more especially the Chancelloz, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and the Judges of Our Court, called the Kings-Bench, were and are to follow the King; and Our Court of Exchequer, being the proper Court of Our Revenue, ought to attend Us as We shall appoint. And whereas Our Cities of London and Westminster

minster have been, and yet are, the chief Cauſers, and Maintainers of this preſent Rebellion againſt Us. And We taking into Our ſerious conſideration, that while Our Courts of Kings-Bench, Common-Pleas, and of Our Exchequer, are kept at Weſtmiſter, many of Our good and Loyall Subjects might be compelled or inſoyned, by Proceſs in Our name, to make their appearance there, which they could not do without hazard of Impriſonment, or other damage or violence from the ſomentors of this Rebellion; and many might ſuffer prejudice by Verdicts and Iudgements had and obtained againſt them by default or otherwiſe, when they could not with ſafety come to make their juſt defences: thereupon We did reſolve to remove thoſe Courts from Weſtmiſter to Our City of Oxford, whether other of Our Courts of Juſtice hath been and are already removed by Our former Proclamation. And to the end that there might not be any prejudice to any of Our Subjects, by diſcontinuance of their Suits in thoſe Courts or otherwiſe, We did ſend Our ſeverall Writs of Adjournment, directed to Our Judges of Our ſaid Courts of Kings-Bench and Common-Pleas, and to Our Barons of Our Exchequer, thereby commanding and giving Warrant and authority to them reſpectively, to adjourn all Pleas and Proceſs depending beſore them, in and from the Two and Twentieth day of November laſt paſt, to the firſt return of Hilary Terme next, commonly called Octabis Hilary, to be holden then at Our City of Oxford. But our Meſſenger ſent with thoſe Writs (as We have been informed) for no other cauſe but for doing his duty in carrying and delivering thoſe Writs, was impriſoned, and in an unjuſt and illegall way ſentenced to die, and brought to a place of execution, and threatned to be Hanged, as at that time another of Our Meſſengers for no other cauſe then for doing his duty in the like kinde, in carrying Our Proclamations to London, was then ſhamefully Hanged and Furthered, (an Act ſo Barbarous as no former age can parallel) and We have not yet received any certain and particular information touching the execution of thoſe Writs. In purſuance therefore of Our former reſolution of removing thoſe Courts from Weſtmiſter to Our City of Oxford, We do for the preſent by this Our Proclamation, authorized under Our Great Seal of England, Ordain and appoint, and by theſe preſents

senta publicly and Declare Our Will and Pleasure to be,
 That Our said Courts of Kings-Bench and Exchequer, shall
 for the next Hillary Terme, at the usuall and accustomed time
 for holding of the same, be holden and kept at Our said City
 of Oxford, and not at Westminster, and shall be continued and
 kept there during that whole Terme, and afterwards at the
 severall times and Termes for holding and keeping of those
 Courts, untill Our further pleasure be known and published
 for removing them from Oxford. And We do hereby straight-
 ly charge and Command all Our Judges of Our said Court
 of Kings-Bench, and Our Barons of Our Exchequer, and all
 Officers, Prothonotaries, Clerkes, and Ministers of or be-
 longing to either of those Courts, or which are or ought to do
 or perform any duty or service in either of them, That they
 according to their severall places and duties, give their sever-
 rall and respective attendances at our said City of Oxford, and
 there do and perform their respective Offices and Duties,
 during the Terme and time aforesaid, at Our said City of
 Oxford and not elsewhere: And that all such as have any Suit
 or other occasion to attend in either of Our said Courts, in
 the said Terme of Saint Hillary next coming, or which have
 any cause or command to appear then in either of the said
 Courts, do give their attendances, and make their appear-
 ances respectively in the said Courts at Our said City of Ox-
 ford, and not elsewhere. And We do hereby farther straight-
 ly Charge and Command all Our Judges of our said Court
 of Kings-Bench, and our Barons of the Exchequer, and all of-
 ficers, Prothonotaries, Clerkes, Ministers, and Attornies,
 of or belonging to either of the said Courts, that they pre-
 sume not, contrary to this Our command, in any sort, to meet,
 sit, or attend at Westminster, or elsewhere, then at Our said
 City of Oxford, for the holding or keeping, or upon presence
 or colour of holding, or keeping of either of the said Courts
 for the Terme and time aforesaid, or any part thereof, or in
 any sort to proceed in any Action, Suite, or Plaint, or Award,
 make or issue out any Process, or do any Act or thing whatso-
 ever, proper or belonging to the said Courts, or either of them,
 in any other place then at Our said City of Oxford, or where
 We shall hereafter appoint the same, as they will answer the
 contrary at their utmost perills. And We do hereby likewise
 charge

charge and Command all Sheriffes, Bayliffes and others, that have to do in the execution or return of any Writs, Precepts, Warrants, or Process, that for such Writs, Precepts, Warrants, or Process, as have issued out of either of our said Courts of Kings-Bench or the Exchequer, and are not yet returned, they make their severall Returnes of the same into the said Courts respectively, at Our said City of Oxford, and not at Westminster. And that they presume not in any sort, to obey or execute any Writ, Precept, Warrant, or Process, which shall hereafter be awarded, made or issued, contrary to the Tenor and effect of this Our Proclamation, as they will answer the contrary at their Perills.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, the first day of *January*, in the nineteenth year of Our Reigne. 1643.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Gentlemen, you may remember, that the Kings Letters that hath been read to you, was dated the 26. of *Decem.* the later of them was dated the second of *January*, and notwithstanding all those expressions that were there given you, the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, are in this Proclamation of the second *January* (as if that they had forgot what they had set out before, they are here) called the principall Maintainers, and Causers of this Rebellion; but not only so, but (as was told you before) an endeavour used to lay this Citie, as much as in them lay, desolate; desolate from all traffick, as you have had it before by Proclamation, desolate from the great Councell of the Kingdom, which is the Parliament, by carrying it to *Oxford*, desolate now of the Cours of Justice, that should be here the life and preservation of all your affaires and businesses; and yet this is that which in his Majesties letter, you have so many faire expressions of affection and good inclination to settle your peace; It is not to be doubted, but upon the whole matter, you will hereafter learne, to understand all such Complements as these are, and know how to mannage your Councels, and to expresse your affections, according to the advice of the two Houses; wherein as
the

the Houses are to acknowledge your faithfulness, and readinesse to comply with them; so they likewise have been willing to expose their lives, estates and paines, and all that lies in them, to goe before you, in that which may be for your preservation. In the former Proclamation there was notice taken, that the Major part of the two Houses were of the opinion (or would be, in all likelihood) with the King at *Oxford*; thus much we can declare to you, that there is above 200. (as I remember 13. score) that have already solemnly taken the Covenant with us here, and which we are confident of will be so tender of the honour of God, and their owne honours, and what they have promised in the Covenant, that they will pursue that interest they have expressed; and that they remaining here, make the Major part, you may easily judge. And for this Proclamation, we have Authority to declare to you, that such is the case of the two Houses, and such is their affection to your selves, that they are resolved to establish the Courts of Justice here, with fuller power then hitherto they have been, that is, they will fill the Judges upon the Benches, and take care to have all the Courts setled here, in a steddie way: And all those that shall go to *Oxford*, in compliance with this Proclamation, they shall have their estates confiscate, and they will proceede in such a course, as you shall see the naturall care they have, to preserve you in following their advice, which all of us by the fundamentall lawes of this Kingdome are bound to do; and thus much we have authority to declare unto you.

There is onely one thing more in this Proclamation, which is onely a particular by the bye, that gives you notice of that barbarous and unheard of usage of a spie that was here justly condemned, by a Councell of war at the instance of the Houses of Parliament, by Command from his Excellencie; it is told you such a murder was never heard of, the murder must now be put upon this, when you may very well remember, in your owne case, how an honest Citizen at *Reading* was proceeded against, with an unheard of murder indeed, this being nothing but that necessary Justice which in times of war is to be expected in all such cases.



*The Right Honourable, the Earl of
Northumberland his Speech.*

MY Lord Major, and you Gentlemen of the City of *London*, you have fully heard delivered by these Gentlemen, all the proceedings, in their late discovery; You are now well able to make a right judgement upon the whole matter; I am commanded in the name of both Houses to read unto you here, their Opinions, and the sence that they have delivered, and resolved of among themselves;

That the matter of this report, containeth a sedicious and Jesuiticall practise and Designe, under the fair and Specious pretence of Peace, having its rise and fountain from known Iesuites and Papists, to work Divisions betweene the Parliament and City of *London*, to raise Factions in both, thereby to render them up to the Designes of the Enemy; and tending also to the breach of the Publique faith of this Kingdom, unto our Brethren of *Scotland*, engaged by the late solemn Covenant and Treaty, entred into by both Nations, thereby not onely to weaken us in our united force against our Popish and Common Enemies, but to embroyle the two Nations in unhappy divisions.

FINIS.

Numb. 39.

THE

KINGDOMES

Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From Tuesday the 9. of January, to Tuesday the 16. of January. 1644.

The greatest matter of note this week is, the intercepting
 a Letter from the Lord *Goring* pretended Ambassa-
 dour from his Majesty of great Brittain, to the Queen
 Regent of France, residing at *Paris*; which Letter was sent in
 a Packet directed to *Monsieur de Gressy*: the same Monsieur de
Gressy, that would have proceeded *via Amoy*, when he was
 apprehended. But lest it should be carried over into France,
 that Prince de *Mars*, the extraordinary Ambassadors, his
 Letters were opened, to the end to begin a quarrell, so much
 longed

longed for by some, the truth was thus. That the Post from France, coming with a male of Letters, to the Prince de Harcourt, and his followers; a Passe was designed of the Parliament by Master Molyns, Agent for the Prince de Harcourt, for the conveying of these Letters to Oxford, which the Parliament granted; provided that all covers of Letters were opened, except the Packets directed to the Prince de Harcourt himself; who had engaged his honour, that no Letters concerning the Parliament should be conveyed in any Packet to him: But the Parliament had not the same confidence in Monsieur de Gressy, since his juggling in *Wit Montaignes* apprehension, and therefore opened the Packet directed to Monsieur de Gressy; and therein found a Letter directed: *Pour la Royne de Angleterre*, subscribed, *Goring*, dated *a Paris*, 5. 15. *January*, 1643. In which Letter were Expressions to this purpose:

THAT her Majestie knew well, that the Prince de Harcourt was nominated by his Majestie at Oxford, to come over into England: That he was from time to time to receive Instructions from you, (meaning her Majestie, for the Letter was directed to her Majestie alone) to treat with the pretended Parliament, and to proceed no otherwise therein, then as he shall have Instructions from you: And therefore (Madam) make much of him, in his owne person: for it is here reported, he is much neglected at Court: I wonder (Madam) your Majesties should stand so much upon that Article of an offensive and defensive way: That which most strikes with me (Madam) is, the payment of the souldiers after they are landed; for which purpose, I hope to take up 600000. French Crownes; but I protest with your jewels are panned, but two which remaines with Sir W. Boswell, and your pendant Diamonds, and Rubies, would but take up 120000. Rix-dollers, and that would not pay the Interest for the money you owe, as Master Welster can tell: but I hope the Yorkshire Gentle-

men that are engaged for eight thousand pounds, will not
faile to pay their parts: (Madam) there is provided twenty
thousand Armes for foot, five thousand paire of pistolls, two
thousand Carbines, and one thousand barrells of powder,
from Dunkerk; from whence, as also from Holland, you
may have what great ships you please, as by the Agreement
appeares.

But alas Madam, in this Coniuncture of time, there is
(not a fained thing) fallen out: The Swedes have invaded
Denmark with a puissant Army, and are very successfull,
but though they be friends to France, yet they are so re-
mote from the bordering parts of France, or the Emperour,
that it will occasion a great strength of France to draw to
these parts.

Madam, I may not omit to give you an account, how I
was respected by the Queene Regent, brought into her close
Cabines, and her Majestie, the Cardinall, and my selfe, had
discourse concerning the Treaty; and, beleevue it, greater
expression cannot come from any Christian, to assist your
Majestie to the utmost.

Madam, I heare your Majestie is with childe, and Intend
to come over into France, if you be, I hope you will not
conceale it from

Your devoted, obliged, humble servant,

Goring.

Q93

This

This Letter being taken into consideration by both Houses of Parliament, they valued the Intelligence and discovery as a matter of great importance; First, to make good two Articles of high Treason against her Majestie; the one for endeavouring to bring in Forraigne Forces, the other for pawing the Jewells of the Crowne; and also made use of it, to accuse the Lord *Goring* of high Treason, though he deserved it long since.

The High Court of Parliament of England, writ a Letter to the Prince *de Harcourt* at Oxford, signed by both their Speakers, signifying unto him, that they had for a short time made Ray of the Packets directed to him; but had opened the covers of no Packets directed him: Though in Monsieur *de Gressleys* Packet, they found a Letter from the Lord *Goring*, directed to the Queene of England, which they had opened, and sent a Copy thereof to the said Prince *de Harcourt*, to let him see how he was dishonoured in the highest degree by *Goring*, if that were not true he writes of him, which the Parliament of England is not willing to believe, in regard they take him to be a person of honour, and also the Parliament sent him a Copy of the Lord *Digbys* Letter intercepted, as it was going to Sir *H. Devick*; shewing the Prince *de Harcourt* how he was abused by his Lordship, and also sent him a copy of the Propositions of Monsieur *Boisvion* in France to the State in Scotland, shewing how all these three persons do much blemish the Prince *de Harcourt* in his addresses to the Parliament, as if he were limited, and did onely pretend to do that which he could not perform, nor intend, or to that effect.

Which

Which Letters, as also the Male with Letters, were sent *January 13.* to Oxford.

No doubt the Prince *de Narbonne*, will seek a revenge on the Lord *Goring*, for wounding him so much in his honour, that never was a Peer of France so abused by an English Baron, and therefore without all question, he will send to the *Queene Regent*, to secure the Lord *Goring*, till he come over, and make him ask the Prince of *Narbonne* forgiveness on his knees.

The next thing worth your knowledge is, the handling of the States Ambassadors; the same persons that the Lord *Goring* endeavoured to hinder for coming over, and therefore no doubt, they are come over with a full Commission, to make known their Ambassage to the Parliament, as well as to his Majesty.

The Parliament hath sent Members of both houses to entertaine them, and to use them with all respect.

The City of London is so sensible of the great care of the Parliament, in the defence and preservation of the Kingdom, Religion and Liberty, from that slavery which the Popish partie would bring upon them, and also of their vigilancy, to discover all Plots against the City and Parliament, to divide the one from the other, that (to shew they are inseparably joyned the one to the other, in a mutuall defence, each of other, notwithstanding the joynt endeavour by his Majesty, Colonell *Read*, the Irish Rebelle, Sir *Basil Brooke*, the notorious active Papist of England, and Master *Riley* the late famous Scout-master: The City was pleased in the name of the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Common Councell, their representative body, to make an humble request to the Parliament by way of testimony of their gratitude,

for the great endeavours of the Parliament to preserve the City and Kingdom, to invite them to a Dinner at Merchant Taylors Hall, on Tuesday or Thursday next, which might stand most convenient with the great affaires of the Kingdom; expressing further to the house, that they desired, that that late designe to divide the Parliament and City, by his Majestie, and the Irish Rebell, and Papists; may appeare by this action of the Cities more firmly to unite them to the Citie, and the Citie to the Parliament.

How acceptable this was to the Parliament, will appeare by the Answer given them by the Speaker in the name of the House of Commons.

The House of Peers giving one to the like effect, *viz.*

The house of Commons hath considered the expression delivered by you at the Barre in the name of the City, represented by the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Common Councell, manifesting their great esteeme of the endeavour of this Parliament, their sense of the late designe of the enemy, to divide the Parliament from them, and them from the Parliament, thereby to involve both in one universall calamitie and disaffection, and to shew their affection unto this House, and resolution to continue in a faithfull compliance with all their good endeavours, and to live and die with them in the maintenance of this publique Cause: Having now desired them (as a Testimony of this, and to deceive the expectation of those who had plotted the contrary, that they would Honour them with their presence, at a Dinner on Tuesday or Thursday if their occasions would give leave. In Answer to which I am commanded to take notice of the good affection of this great City,

City, testified upon all occasions, which we looke upon as one of the principall blessings, which God hath bene pleased to bestow upon this Parliament: and to observe that all the practises of the Adversaries, to devide us, by your faithfulnessse and constancie have bene made occasions of more firmly uniting us: And the house looks upon this your invitation, as a seasonable demonstration thereof; and an engagement of the continuance: And for a more particular answer, the House is resolved on Thursday next to give you a meeting, according to your desire, and that both they and you may lay hold upon this opportunity, joyntly to acknowledge the continued blessing of God, in preserving this Parliament, and the City from the secret practises, & malicious designs of their enemies.

And particularly in this late discovery, they desire on Thursday morning at eight a clocke, there may be in such a place as you shall thinke fit to be, such a Minister as you shall make choice of for a Sermon, for the Commemoration, among the rest, of Gods manifold mercies, of this late, and not the least deliverance. And therefore I am expressly commanded in the name of the House to assure you, that as your resolution is to live and die with them, so they resolve never to desert you: But to make it their greatest care to watch all opportunitie, to advance the honour and happinesse of the City, which under God hath been the principall meanes of the preservation of this Parliament.

For newes from Remoter parts of the Kingdom: It is certified that at Leverpoole, a ship of the Kings, which he sent from Bristol, to come to Chester with good store of Armes, and Ammunition, is come into Leverpoole to serve the Parliament, the Sailors compelling their Master to put in there, which Armes will helpe to recure Colonell Ashrons Regiment, that received a defeat. I cannot let that businesse passe, without taking notice of that bloody, and barbarous Lord Byron, who writes in his Letter to the Earle of Newcastle, of that victory,
and

and glories in one thing; that those of that Regiment that fell to a Church for Sanctuary, that he washed his hands in their blood, and put them every one to the sword; he in his conscience holding mercy, to any that assist the Parliament, to be crucifying.

This bloody Turke, for hee deserves not to be called a Christian, may shortly be met withall by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who on Tuesday, January 9. was at *Scafford*, and joynd with Sir *William Brereton* there, and Collonell *Kedgeley* with 1000. Morelanders met them also: This Letter, all of the kind writing of this infamous *Biran* is kept as a Record in Parliament, that he may be branded to posterity; he was held to be one of a sweet nature and disposition, but associating himselfe with Irish Rebels, hath made the man as bloody as themselves.

The expectation is great to heare that the Scots are possessed of Newcastle, the Reports are many of it, and some have foolishly severall dayes since put it out in Print; I have made a diligent inquiry into it; and all the circumstances conducing to beleefe of such a Report are, That the Alarm is given to all Quarters of the Earle of Newcastle's Army, that they were approaching neere Newcastle; three Posts came to Bowyer Castle to the Earle of Newcastle to that purpose; severall also come from the Quarters of the enemy in the North that confirme this Report, but no Messenger or Letter is come either by Sea or Land that informes how neere Newcastle they are, though in all probability, they are by this time possessed of the Towne, the Castle may hold out some dayes.

Letters are come from Sir *William Waller* at *Arundell*; who is preparing to advance Westward, the ship that is taken, is esteemed to be worth fiftie thousand pound at least; the Castle was so noisome with dead beasts, and dead persons when Sir *Wm Waller's* forces entered it, that many fall sicke upon it, and divers of the Cavaliers there taken, die of the infection they there took.

Printed according to Order by G.B. and R.W.

To day a man , To morrow none : 5

OR, SIR

Walter Raveleighs

Farewell to his L A D Y,

The night before hee was beheaded :

Together with his advice concerning
HER, and her SONNE.



January . 10

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Sir *Walter Rawleighs* farewell to his *LADY*
the night before he was beheaded.

*Together with his advice concerning her, and
her Sonne.*

Dear WIFE,



Thou shalt receive my last words in
these my last lines; my love I
send you that you may keepe it
when I am dead, and my counsel
that you may remember it when I
am no more. I would not with
my will present you sorrows (dear *Besse*) let them
go to the grave with me, and be buried in the dust!
And seeing it is not the will of God that ever I shall
see you any more in this life, beare my destruction
gently, and with a heart like your selfe.

First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words expresse, for your many troubles and cares taken for me, which though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not lesse, but I shall never recompence it in this world.

Secondly, I beseech you even for the love you bare me living, that you doe not hide your selfe many dayes, but by your travell seek to helpe your miserable fortune, and the right of your poore childe: Your mourning cannot availe me that am but dust.

Thirdly, you shall understand that my Lands were conveyed (*bona fide*) to my childe, the writings were drawne at Mid summer was twelve month, as divers can witnesse, and I trust that my blood will quench their malice that desire my slaughter, and that they will not seek also to kill you and yours with extreame poverty.

To what friend to direct you I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of tryall, most sorry I am (as God knoweth) that being thus surprised with death I can leave you no better estate; I meant you all my Office of wines or that I should purchase by selling it, halfe my stuffe and my jewells,
(but

(but some few for the boy) but God hath prevented all my determinations; The great God that worketh all in all.

But if you can live free from want, care for no more, for the rest is but vanity.

Love God, and begin betime to repose your selfe on him, therein shall you finde true and everlasting riches and endlesse comfort: for the rest when you have travelled and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall sit downe by sorrow in the end.

Teach your son also to serve and fear God whilst he is young, that the feare of God may grow up with him, then will God be a husband unto you, and a father unto him, a husband and a father that can never be taken from you.

Bayly oweth me 1000 l. Arion 600 l. In Ierusalem I have much owing me; the arrerages of the wines will pay your debts.

And howsoever (I beseech you for my soules sake) pay all poore men when I am gone: no doubt you shall bee sought unto, for the world thinks I was very rich.

But take heed of the pretence of men and of their affections, for they last but in honest and worthy

men : and no greater misery can befall you in this life , then to become a prey, and after to bee despised: I speake it (God knoweth) not to dissuade you from marriage, for that will be best for you, both in respect of God and the world.

As for me I am no more yours , nor you mine , death hath cut us asunder , and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me : Remember your poore childe for his fathers sake that comforted you , and loved you in his happiest times.

I sued for my life (but God knowes) it was for you and yours that I desired it: for know it (deare wife) that your sonne is the childe of a true man, and who in his owne heart despiseth death, and all his mishapen and ugly forms.

I cannot write much : God knoweth how hardly I stole this time when all were asleep , and it is now time to separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body which living was denyed you, and either lay it in *Sherborne* or in *Exeter* Church by my father and mother. I can say no more , time and death call me away. The everlasting God, infinite, powerfull, and inscrutable God, That Almighty God which is goodnesse it selfe,

selfe, mercy it selfe, the true light and life, keep you
and yours, and have mercy upon me.

Teach me to forgive my persecuters and false
accusers, and send me to meet him in his glorious
Kingdome.

My true wife farewell, God bleesse my poore boy,
pray for me, my true God hold you both in His
Armes.

*E*ven such is time, which takes in trust

Our youth, our age, and all we have,

And payes us but with age and dust,

Who in the darke and silent grave,

When we have wandred all our wayes

Shuts up the story of our dayes.

And from the earth, the grave, and dust,

The Lord shall raise me up, I trust.

WALTER RAYNBICH.

Like

Like Hermita poore in pensive place obscure
 I mean to end my dayes with endlesse doubt,
 To waile such woes as time cannot retire,
 Where none but love shall ever finde me out.
 And at my gates despair shall linger still
 To let in death when love and fortune will.

A Gowne of gray my body shall attire,
 My staffe of broken hope whereon I stay
 Of late repentance linkt with long desire,
 The couch is fram'd whereon my limbs I lay,
 And at my gates, &c.

My food shall be of care and sorrow made,
 My drink nought else but tear: false from mine eyes,
 And for my light in this obscure shade
 The flames may serve which from my heart arise.
 And at my gates, &c.

WALTER RAYLEIGH.

FINIS.

Die Martis, 9. Januarii. 1643.

AN
ORDINANCE
England OF THE
LORDS And COMMONS

Assembled In
PARLIAMENT,
Touching the
EXCISE
OF
Flesh-Victualls, and Salt.

Hen. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Im: 168 LONDON,
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1643.





Die Martis, 9. Januarii. 1643.

**An Ordinance of the Lords and
Commons Assembled in Parliament,
Touching the Excise of Flesh-
Viſuals, and Sale.**



TH E Lords and Commons assembled in
Parliament, having by an Ordinance,
dated the eleventh of September last,
set a Rate of Excise and New-Impost,
upon severall Commodities, as well
Native as Forraign, for the mainte-
nance of the Armies raised in defence of
the King and Parliament, and other
great Affairs of the Common-wealth; amongst which, they
had speciall regard to the Navy, for guard of the Seas; And
now finding, That through the losse of severall Ports of the
King-

Kingdom, and daily decay of Trade, the Navy cannot be sufficiently maintained out of the Revenue of the Customes, as these times of imminent danger do require, nor such a convenient Fleet set forth this next Summer, for the guard of the Seas, defence of the Kingdom, and preservation of Trade, without further supply of Monies to be raised by some equall, and indifferent way, as may be most easie to the well-afflicted Subjects of this Kingdom.

Be it therefore Ordained, by the said Lords and Commons, That from, and after, the tenth day of this instant January, all the severall sorts, and kindes of Flesh-Meats, as also all Salt imported, or made within this Kingdom, shall pay the severall Rates of Excise, or New-Impost, hereafter appointed, and specified, according as the said Excise is hereby directed to be levied, and paid; Viz.

THAT all Forraign Salt imported, or to be imported into the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Barwick, shall pay one penny upon every Gallon, to be paid by the first Buyer of such Salt.

That all Salt made within the Kingdoms of England, and Scotland, and Dominion of Wales, shall pay ~~one~~ half penny upon every Gallon. And that all Salt upon Salt, that is made of Salt, within the said Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, which hath once paid the Excise, shall pay one farthing upon every Gallon, to be paid by the maker of all such Salt, before such time as the said Salt shall be put to sale. And that all Salt upon Salt, that is made of Salt in the Kingdom of Scotland, which hath once payed the Excise, shall pay one farthing upon every Gallon, to be paid by the first Buyer of such Salt; And that all other Salt upon Salt

Salt, imported or to be imported, in the said Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Barwick*, shall pay one penny half penny upon every Gallon, to be paid by the first Buyer of such Salt; Provided always, That no Salt expended upon Fishing shall be lyable to this Excise.

That all Beefs, Muttons, Veals, Perks, Lambs, and other Butchers Meat, to be killed for provision of Victuals, shall pay one shilling in every twenty shillings value of the Beast, when he is living.

That all Conies or Rabbets, shall pay one half penny a piece.

That all Pigeons shall pay after the rate of one penny, for every dozen.

That all Butchers, or others, who do kill, and sell any Beef, Veal, Mutton, Lamb, Pork, or any other Swines-flesh whatsoever, for the Market, or sale, do weekly give an accompt to such Office of Excise under which their dwelling, or other place of residence is; And at that same time, pay the Excise before mentioned, upon forfeiture of double the value of all such Beasts, and other Cattle, as by two Witnesses, or other good proof shall be proved to have been killed at any time, after the tenth day of *January*, 1643. for which no Excise hath been paid; and further, To be restrained from the killing and selling of any Flesh-Meat, for one whole yeer, after such proof as aforesaid.

That

That all Poulterers and others, who make sale of any Rabbits or Pigeons, do weekly make like account to the Office of Excise under which their habitation and Trading is, of all Rabbits and Pigeons by them sold from time to time, And at the same time pay the Duty of Excise before appointed in this particular, upon the like penalty respectively, and to be restrained from such Trading and Dealing in any kinde whatsoever, for one whole year after.

That all house-keepers, who for their own spending, shall at any time kill any Beefs, Calves, Sheep, Lambs, Porkers, Rabbits or Pigeons, shall weekly pay Excise after the rate aforesaid, unto such Collector or Collectors as shall be appointed to that purpose. And all persons who shall refuse or neglect to give a true weekly Account, either of their killing for sale, or of their own expence, as aforesaid, shall be liable, upon proof of one or two witnesses, as before directed, to the fine of treble the value *toties quoties*, to be leavied by distresse, and, in default thereof, unto imprisonment, untill the Excise and penalty be both satisfied.

That all Sum and Sums of money received by vertue of this Ordinance, upon any Butchers meat, Rabbits or Pigeons, before mentioned; as also, of all Salt imported, or made in the Land, be appropriated to the maintenance of the Navie, and from time to time issued and payed out, according to the Orders of the Committee of the House of Commons for the Navie, which shall be a sufficient discharge to the Commissioners for Excise,

Excise, being signed by the hand of the Chayr-man of that Committee for the time being.

That *John Towse, Thomas Foot, John Kendrick*; and *Thomas Cullum*; Esquires, Aldermen of the City of London; *Simon Edmonds, John Lamet*, and *Edward Claxton* of London, Esquires, shall be Commissioners for the receipt of the before-mentioned Excise, according as they are already appointed and authorized by Ordinance of the eleventh of *September* last, for the receipt of the Excise and New-Impost therein rated and expressed, and receive the like allowance of six pence in every pound for the receipt; And shall and may likewise execute all and every thing and things therein prescribed, for the better managing of this work *mutatis mutandis*, as shall be requisite, for the due performance of this Ordinance, according to the true intent and meaning thereof; And that *Thomas Fawkenbridge* and *William Bond*, Gentlemen, shall be Auditors to execute this Ordinance by the same Rules and Limitations as they are authorized by the former Ordinance of Excise.

And all persons who shall seek to elude this Ordinance, by concealment, or other fraudulent practice, or by non-payment of the Excise as aforesaid, shall be subject to all Fines, Forfeiture, Imprisonment, or other punishment whatsoever, as in the said Ordinance of the eleventh of *September* last is more at large Declared and Ordained.

Provided,

Provided, That in case there shall happen to be an overplus of Money arising by vertue of this Ordinance, which shall not be necessary for the support of the Navie, That in such cases the overplus shall not be disposed to any uses, but by Order of both Houses of Parliament.

Provided, That this Ordinance shall continue in full force for one whole yeer after the date hereof.

Hen. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.



FINIS.



MERCVRIVS &c.

Upon my life new borne, and wants a Name,
Troth let the Reader then impose the same.

VERIDICUS

—— I wish thee, if not so,
bee ——

MUTUS,

—— for wee Lyes enough doe know.



Reader, you have the Authors sense above,
he is surfeited himselfe with reading
Lyes, and doth beleewe you are so too;
not is't a wonder, this hackney *Mercury*
is ridden off his legs, and come, you see,
from pretty trips at first, to stumble af-
terwards, and now in fine to lye downe-
right.

In briefe, I have a pretty boy, an *Al-
lips*, come to me, that renders his service under the Title of a
Mercury, as yet *Anonymous*; but whether I shall entertaine
the Fly, or not, I cannot tell; first I referre him to the
Reader, if you like him, say so, and call him (pry) *Veridicus*;
and he shall wait upon you weekly: If you like him not, de-
cry him; and I shall soone dismiss the same familiar. **AN**

Jan. 17. 1643.

can tell you, is this, the Rascall vowes he will not bring mee any false Intelligence to his knowledge, and promiseth to spare no State abroad, (so farre forth as he can scrue into the verity of Forraigne passages) and will impartially relate the same; not siding with the French nor Spanish faction, the Papist, nor the Puritan, the Cavalier, nor Roundhead; but will tell me the naked truth, and nothing but the truth, to the best of his understanding: And this he vowes, so helpe him God, And first he sayes, that

This day being Wednesday, the 17 of January, 1643. Stilo veteri, he will leave all Eyes dead at his feet, rather then helpe to tumble them about, by handing them over the world, with the helpe of an affected stile; contrarily he will keepe his truth, from climbing stiles, and send it an even way, where it shall need no helpe at all of Language to gaine credit; so he is henceforth purely narrative without affectation, and in plain & true English sayes, that yesterday

A Letter was read in the House of Commons, from Colonel Stapely the Governour of *Chichester*, who (it seemes) had formerly refused to admit Sir *William Waller* to quarter his souldiers in that Citie; but (having since received order from the House for his so doing) did now desire to know whither he should march with his Regiment; for that if Sir *William* came in, hee would goe out: alledging further, that hee would live and dye with my Lord of *Essex*, but would have nothing to doe with Sir *William Waller*, or to that effect.

There was a Letter lately intercepted from the King to the Earle of *Suffolk*, wherein his Maiestie commaunds the Earles appearance at *Oxford* on the two and twentieth of this moneth.

Yesterday also a Letter was read in the House of Commons from Colonel *Masse*, the Governour of *Gloster*, wherein hee mentions former Letters sent for Supplyes, but had as yet received none; and that if hee had not now present helpes sent him, his distresse was such, that hee should be forced to deliver up that Citie to the Enemy.

This

This day the House of Commons had a long debate touching the Earle of *Holland*; whose admittance by the Lords to his place in the House of Peeres, was so much displeased by the House of Commons, that it was there strongly moved, that an Impeachment of High Treason should be drawne up against him, for his former deserting the Parliament: but after long debate, it was over-ruled by Vote, there being severitie five Votes negative, and but sixtie affirmative.

The last weeke it was much controverted in the Synod, What forme of Church-Government should be settled in this Kingdome. Some of the Divines were very earnest for an Independency and others as much against it.

About the same time, *M. Selden* (a Member of that Assembly) brought sixteene Bibles into the Synod, and desired they might be considered of, for that he alledged, that all of them did differ more or lesse.

From *Oxford* it is certified, that all the Lords there (except onely the Earle of *Leicester* and the Lord *Pages*) by the Kings command have subscribed a Letter, which is sent to the *Scots*: I cannot relate the particulars of it (because I have not seene any Copie) more then that it doth expostulate with them for breaking the Articles of Pacification, so solemnly agreed on and sworne to by both Nations, by seizing upon *Barnick*, &c.

This day, three Ambassadors from the States of *Holland* landed, at *Tower Wharfe*.

THURSDAY.

This day produced little Newes, more then the Celebration of the great Feast at Merchant-Taylors Hall: which hath beene already sufficiently published; and therefore I shall onely observe, that the Entertainment was in all things besitting such Noble Personages; and that after Dinner (I dare say unexpected to some) Doctor *Burges*, with the Synod, appeared in an upper Roome in the Hall (where the Musicke was formerly used to sit) and called for the 89. Psalm, which was sung accordingly.

There is a Gentleman (whose Name I mention not) lately deceased, that hath given a Legacie of five hundred pound to the Parliament ; which the House of Commons tooke so kindly, that they have this weeke ordered fiftie pound thereof to be bestowed upon a Monument, to be erected in *Westminster* Abbey, as well in memorie of the deceased Donor, as to move others to doe the like, by his good example : Thereby imitating the ancient *Laodemonians*, whose custome was, when any person had atchieved any noble service in the Warres, or done any memorable Act for the good of their Commonwealth, after his decease to erect a Statue of Brasse or Marble in memorie of him, so to incite others to imitation ; which Statues had usually this Motto subscribed, *Si fueris sicut illi, eris sicut isti.*

It was lately advertised from *Arundel*, that much Sicknesse reignes within Sir *William Wallers* Armie ; and that the *Kentish* Foot, forces, and some of the Horse are returned home.

From *Oxford* it is certified, that Prince *Rupert* is created Duke of *Suffex*, the Lord *Hatton* made Comptroller; and *M. Lane*, formerly the Princes Attorney, Lord chiefe Baron.

FRYDAY.

It is advertised out of *Cheshire*, that the Lord *Byron* upon the fourth of this moneth tooke *Croft* House in that Countie, wherein Sir *William Bruerton* had placed a Garrison ; and that there was taken in that House about an hundred and fiftie common souldiers, and their Officers, and about two hundred Armes, and some Provisions. And that about the same time a House of Sir *Thomas Belton* in those parts was delivered up to the said Lord *Byron*, whose increasing Powers in that Countie are said to have brought the Towne of *Nantwich* into much distresse.

Out of *Derbyshire* it is also certified, that the Marquesse of *Newcastle*, about three weekes since, late upon the Commission of Array at *Chesterfield* in that Countie ; where (as wee may beleieve) some that came out of those parts) hee rayled two thousand Voluntiers.

Jan. 20. 1643. 1

Late Letters out of those parts doe also certifie, that (since the Surprizall of three hundred of Colonell *Cromwells* Horse by those of *Newark*) Sir *John Gell* hath made a requitall in part, for that on Friday last he rooke (after a short Skirmish, and the losse of foure or five of his men) neere a hundred Foot Souldiers with their Armes, at *Burton* upon *Trent* in *Staffordshire*, which belonged to the Lord *Loughborough* (for that is Colonell *Hastings* his new Title.)

There is certaine newes of a great Battell fought in the North of *Ireland* in *December* last, betweene the Scots and Irish, wherein (after it was two or three houres doubtfully disputed) the Victory (it seemes) fell to the Irish, who have since much encroached upon those parts of the Province of *Ulster*, which were before under the Scots command.

SATURDAY.

The last weeke a Letter was sent from both Houses, subscribed by the Speakers, Lord *Grey* of *Uxbridge*, and Master *Lenthall*, to *Monsieur Prince d'Harcourt*, the French Ambassadour at *Oxford*, concerning the paquet broken open here, wherein the Lord *Goringes* Letter was found. And this day they received an answer of Complement from the Ambassadour, with this onely Supercription; *Aux Sieurs, Grey de Uxbridge, et Lenthall.*

From *Nottingham* it is certified by Letters dated 16 *instantis*, that *Newark* Forces had taken about forty of the Garrison of *Nottingham* Castle, and were that day, being Tuesday last, entered the Towne of *Nottingham*, but whether with an intention to stay or no, was not then knowne.

The same Letters tell us, that on Thursday was seven-night (being (it seemes) the Faire-day at *Lutterworth* in *Leicestershire*) a party of the Lord *Loughboroughs* Horse came thither, and drove the Faire of all Horses and Beasts, making restitution onely to those of his owne party.

This day the House of Commons received Letters from the *L. Grey* of *Groby*, thereby signifying, that he had committ ed some of the principall Inhabitants of the Towne of *Leicesters* who were formerly well-affected

affected to the Parliament service, but did now endeavour to mye mutinies amongst the Souldiers there.

From *Hildesheim* in *Germany*, it is certified by Letters, that the Swedes are entred *Denmarke*, and have taken many Townes there (as you have formerly heard) and tis said there, that the States of *Holland* will joyne with the Swedes, both conspiring to take the Sound from the King of *Denmarke*, which is his greatest strength and Commoditie; The Dane also with a potent Army, is entred *Suedland*, (as the same Letters doe affirme) and that he endeavours to bring in with him the King of *Persia*, to whom he hath married his Daughter.

MVNDAY.

This day (being the first day of the convention of the great estates or Parliament, which you will call it, at *Oxford*) the House of Commons here was called over, where, many Members being found absent, about sixty only for the present were expelled the House, for their not attendance, it being suspected they either are, or wil be at *Oxford*.

This day likewise, was some dispute in the House of Commons concerning the Ambassadors Letter and the superscription betofore recited, because it wanted those Attributes which are due to the Speakers of the two Houses, which was partly held excusable, because the Ambassadors is a Stranger, and unacquainted with the severall Titles of persons of quality in *England*.

This day also Colonell *Cromwell* made a Speech in the House of Commons, concerning the disorder and ill carriage of the Parliament Souldiers in the County of *Lincolne*, by sending out Warrants for Wenches &c. and other misdemeanors; which if not suddenly redressed would put that County in much danger to be lost, and did seeme to lay the blame of this upon the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, whose innocency was defended by other Members of the House at the same time.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was this day brought to the House of Peers, where he put in his Answer to the Articles preferred against him, and was dismissed from further attendance for the present.

Letters

JAN. 23. 1643.

Letters out of *Heresfordshire*, tell us, that *Brampton*-Castle in that County (the seat of Sir *Robert Harlow*) which withstood the power of that County, for neere six weekes Siege the last Summer, and was deserted when *Glocester* was relieved, doth continue still under the command of the Parliament; but withall, that the Kings Souldiers have Garrisoned *Wigmore* and *Croft*-Castle neere adjoining, seeking thereby to curbe the power of *Brampton*, from having any influence upon that County. This *Brampton*-Castle being the onely hold which the Parliament hath, either in *Wales*, or within the River of *Severn* *Wales*-ward.

TUESDAY.

This day came out in Print an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, to prevent the adjournment of the Courts of Justice, from *London* or *Westminster* to *Oxford*, or other place where the Kings Forces are; ordaining thereby, that if any person shall deliver to any Judge or other Officer, any Writ or Proclamation, Sealed with any great Seale, other then that attending the Parliament, such person shall be proceeded against by the Law-Martiall as Spies, &c.

We had this day a more particular information of the State of *Glocester*, by a Gentleman that came lately out of those parts, (*viz.*) That Sir *John UUyner* maintaineth a Fort at *Newnham*, which lyes upon the River towards *Bristol*, and that those of *Worcester* have fortified and maintaine *Upton*-Bridge, some fiftene hundred of the English-Irish lye quartered in the neereft Villages on this side the City, and Sir *William Vavasour* with as many Welch on *Wales* side, and that the City begins to be in great wants of divers necessities.

The same party doth assure us, that a party of Horse are sent from *Oxford* towards *Alisbury*. What the designe is, few dayes will produce.

By Letters out of the West it is advertised, That the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall* are lately associated, and have made a Protestation

testation to this effect, To defend with their utmost power the true reformed Protestant Religion established by Law in this Kingdome, against all Poperie, Popish and other innovations of Sectaries and Schismaticques; as also his Maiesties Person and Rights against all Forces whatsoever, and the Lawes, Liberties, and Priviledges of Parliament, and of this Kingdome: And to preserve and defend the Peace of the two Counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon*, and all persons that shall unite themselves by this Protestation to the due performance thereof; and to assist his Maiesties Armies, for reducing the Towne of *Plimouth*, and resistance of all Forces of *Scots*, invaders, and others, levied under pretence of any Authoritie of two Houses of Parliament, or otherwise, without his Maiesties personall consent.

Besides this Protestation, those two Counties have mutually agreed upon certaine Articles, which are not as yet come to my hands.

Yesterday wee had Newes (and Printed too) of a Defeat (fiftie hundred deepe) given to the Lord *Byron* by Sir *William Brum* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*: And this day I have scene Letters out of *Staffordshire*, that speake of three hundred of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Horie, that should be lately surprized by the Lord *Byron*, Forces at *Newcastle* under *Lyne*. The credit of the first is this day much lessened, nor am I so confident of the latter, but that I leave it to the next Weekes, either for confirmation or expulsion.

FINIS.

BRITANNIA,

PASSIONATELY

AND

HISTORICALLY,

Remembring her Misery and Happinesse
in former Ages, and declaring her Calamities,
and Expectations now.

O Stay and consider! I conjure ye by the being and originall you have from me; I conjure ye by all your native relations, by the blood which is so warme in your veines, and hears you into such famous Resolutions for your Religion and Countrey; I conjure yee by all the peace, by all the happinesse and prosperity, by all the pleasures I have afforded you, by all those serene blessings, those glorious habitations and Cities, by all those goodly Territories, by all that can be deare, or precious, or honourable; I conjure yee by my sufferings, by my troubles, my slaughters, by my present desolations and distractions, by the purple streames that flow down every Province and County, by my torne and dishevell'd Laws, Priviledges, Immunities, by the mutuall wounds and discords; by all the disorders and rapines, by all the tyrannies and wofull oppressions, by all the violations and disturbances; by all the expresseible or imaginable sorrows of a State and Kingdome, by my owne teares and sighes; behold and consider my meditations, and powre forth your passions with me: O let us contribute our lamentations, and consociate our griefes, and let us lay our sorrows together, and make up a rich and solemn lamentation, there is a glory in calamity, and a grandeur in distresses: O let us sit down and reason together, let us remember our former sorrowes, and call up the ghosts of ancient calamities, and recover the miseries of other Ages from their Sepulchres, let us sit a while in the Region and shadow of death, and aske the way into the land of forgetfulnesse, and converse with the hoary spirits of our Ancestors, and contemplate those rivers of blood, which run in the channells of those ages,

Her adjuration.

Her complaint.

London - January 17 1643

and are now overflowing into our own: let us aske after the golden times and prosperities which have made our forefathers happy in the enjoying, and would almost make us miserable in the remembring.

The first
Britaines.

I was at first glorious in the name of Britaine, and though I had no King or Monarch, but was divided into severall States and governments, yet I was a pleasant and pregnant soyle, Greene and springing with meadows, variegated with flowers, shaded with trees, and white with harvests, and peopled with inhabitants, and undeflowered with aliens, unviolated either with the languages, usages, or fashions, or dispositions of forrainers, I enjoyed my selfe in my own banks girded with waters, abounding and flourishing, and like the map of another world, as if Providence had made all over againe in me in a lesser Globe, and divided me from the rest, and walled and secured me with Seas, I knew none mightier then *Cassivelaunus*, who had onely a temporary administration and rule, here was no Tyranny, no oppression, no divisions but of provinces, till some Merchants having onely a Maritime knowledge of me, gave *Cesar* so much information as sent him over, and then factions encreased at home, and my inhabitants enflamed against one another, made breaches for the Roman enemy to enter, then my peace wasted, and my glory declined, and I became a tributary to another nation, till *Vodicia*, that famous Queene, spirited with a British vertue would needs forget her Sex and constitution, and turn masculine for the redeeming of her Country, and having rallied many thousands of my inhabitants, defeated the Roman forces, yet being of a Sex too weak for a victory, was forced to let it fall out of her hand againe; and *Suetonius* a Roman Generall tooke it up, then was I more miserable than before, my oppression heavier: Thus hath the Tyranny of *Rome* been ever fatall and grievous to me unto this day, yet I confesse, I had some calmes and peaceable distances, even then, but my Northerne enemies broke in upon me while my Roman governours were absent, and then I sent Ambassadors abroad unto them, but had no redresse, my people were taken from me, and in those mighty factions of *Rome* spent, and I woefully depopulated; this was the complexion of my misery then; and yet in all these oppressions my inhabitants have ever been mindfull of their ancient liberty, and have struggled against the Tyrannies of those ages, and writ their Nationall vertues in drops of blood unto Posterity.

The Sax-
ons.

And now my troubles grew to be more numerous, and my factions potent, and *Vortigern* stands up in a supremacy, and being not strong enough to support such a glorious advancement, he calls in a ravenous and rude enemy, who though they landed upon my soile as Stipendaries, yet there flowed in such numbers and streames of people by the interest they obtained in a dotting Prince, enamoured on a Saxon beauty, that they soon spread over into

my

my Northerne Provinces: and thus possessed on such large Territories, they breake out into insolepcies, and they rage upon my inhabitants, who still retaining their Native excellency, combine and fight with these usurpers, under the Standard of a famous King: and now my Kingdom looks red again with new slaughters, and my people after many bloody contentions are conquered and spoiled, and I left in a deplorable condition, rent and divided into so many parts and Dominions, every grand Saxon holding up a Scepter, and my poor inhabitants with all their Lawes, Religion, and Liberties enrobb'd in a generall desolation, all my delicacies not regarded, but trampled on by a cruell and barbarous nation.

Arthur.

Now I am distracted again, and fresh Calamities succeed, new stirres and brailes inflame me every day, and there comes over by degrees another Nation fierce and Martiall, and those arrive upon my coasts, and the tide of blood flowes higher than before, I was now in as sad a condition as ever, and I had nothing to comfort me in these tumults of the Danes and Saxons, but the light of the Gospell broke in upon me, and gloriously shone upon my white cliffs, and now I felt a new happinesse, me thought, springing within my nation, now I conceited my selfe nearer heaven then before, now my shadowes fled away, and I saw and discovered further; and yet I am able to say now, my beame was not so pure then, darting upon my eyes but through a cloud of superstition, yet I had little peace, for those that wasted and spoiled my first people, they are now declining into a subject of revenge themselves, and the Britains sufferings must now be requir'd at the hands of their oppressors, and they must now let out their bloods for expiation, the Danes flow in like a crimson inundation upon the land, and I must now submit to another desolation, and be ruin'd over again.

The Danes

Augustine
the Monk.

Nor am I long in this affliction, but things a little compos'd, I am lookt upon again, by a new Conquerour, and thus exposed to an inevitable invasion, the Normans come over and possesse me, and clothe me in purple once againe at the battell of *Hastings*, and now all my Nobility and people distracted at their overthrow, lay down their defensive power, and presents my Crowne and inheritances to that famous *William*: now my Laws, customes, Priviledges are all changed, and I am made a little more happy then before, and though I exchanged but one trouble for another, yet by a wise Providence, this trouble like a wave lands me upon a more blessed shore of prosperity then ever I had, now I am more civilized in attire and language, now I appeare more comely and beautifull, now I enter communion with other Nations, and am able to looke abroad and converse with other States and kingdomes, I begin to improve an interest abroad, and trade for relations, and negotiate for Forraigne ornaments, now I can contemplate my former

The Normans.

William
the Conquerour.

miserics, and admire the happinesse of my present condition, and yet my religion was but of a dusky colour, for now the cloud of Superstitions began to gather and cast a shadow upon many nations as well as mine.

And now my Crown grows brighter and more glorious then before, now my power becomes more Regall and Monarchicall, and every day I receive some degree of perfection & accomplishment, and the troubles are as yet no more then puts a blushing die upon my face, & makes me more beautiful, & I am now busied onely to keep my selfe from the invasion of old troubles, and thus being enriched and beautified by a new accessse of Majestie, I am courted by a succession of Kings, of *Williams, Henriés, a Stephen, a Richard* espouse me, and these are times rather of enlargement & happines then of calamity to me.

King Johns troubles.

But new revolutions of time brings with them revolutions of fortune, and miserie appears to me againe in the apparition of broiles and combustions, my Prince and Nobles contend for liberties, and a supremacy from *Rome* intercedes and stirs up more unhappy contentions, and now I am brought into a new captivity, and my ancient liberties, which was before conquered from me by a power from *Rome*, is now againe after my recovery and re-establishment taken away, and I am chained unto the Papall chair, & my Prince too, and my inhabitants, and this my second servitude to *Rome* is worse and more Tyrannous then my first, now my soule hath lost her liberty, and I am disfranchised in spirit and conscience, and all because I endeavoured my redemption; and thus, as if some fatality were now upon me, I am now espoused againe to other Kings, but still more unfortunate in my successors: now my Peerage and Sovereign are beginning bloody discords, and all the Quarrell is onely for breaking the Coards which bound me fast, my King will neede enslave me, and make me submit to an unjust power, and Prerogative, and these my Nobles and Barons pitying to see my bondage, and not able to see their mother lie so fettered, who used to triumph in her Liberty, and walke in the pleasant meadowes of enlargement, now my fields are embred again, and the bodies of my flaine people lie scattered before my eyes.

Henry the third.

And thus, as if a bloody Comet hung over me, other, and those more wofull and calamitous stirs breake forth, and now my people fight for enioying me, now I cannot but lament and bemoane my present unhappinesse, I weep over my own comelineffe, and curse my features and beauty, and call my Empire an unfortunate inheritance, that should occasion such strifes and miserable distractions, alas how many lie gasping and bleeding upon my plains, how are all my pleasures turned into sorrow, all my comforts into sighes and groanes, to see those that should live in peace with one another, enioying the comely intercourse of friends and neighbours and Countrey men, and now wounding all these relations, and without difference and respects making but one common sepulchre of those goodly Provinces.

And

The wars of Yorke and Lancaster begun by Henry the fourth.

And now a King takes me by the hand, and administers comfort and consolation to me; now I feele better influences than before, my blood is stanched, and my dead are buried, and I have new robes presented me, and white garments, and those that were rouled in blood are taken from me, and now I have a garland of Roses, not red with battells, but Damaskt with peace and happinesse; now the birds returne again and sing on my branches, and the Hart and Roe trips upon my plaines, my sheepe graze upon my mountaines in flocks, and my shepherds begin to make oaten pipes, and warble their harmelesse tunes unto the valleys which resound the joyfull reconciliations unto them; and now he that sits upon my throne, smiles upon me, and entertaines me with pastimes, and glorious delights of peace,

Henry the
seventh
Raigne.

Yet to put me in minde that I am not immortall, Commotions begin in me, and my Liberty being almost lost againe, and the Tyrannies of Rome overflowing into my kingdom, one that had espoused me for my perfections, and possessions, rouses up himselfe and breaks the Cords that superstition had tied him with to the Papall Dominion, and sets me at liberty, and now I enjoy my freedome and ease, and rejoyce in my old immunities, now I am emancipated from another Supremacy, and those that led the soules of my people captive, and forced them to bring all, and sacrifice to their pleasures, making them to lay down not only their consciences, but their goods, lands, and all my delightfull situations at their feet, are expulsd from my dominions, and though I remained still fettered in Superstitions and ignorance, yet I gained a kinde of enlargement, by the favour and Indulgency of this Prince,

Henry the
eighth
troubles.

After these, there arises a bright star, and shines upon me, and me thought I was much refreshed at the first dawning of it; this brought me tidings of a more glorious light to follow, and yet in these dayes, when religion cleared up more brightly then ever, many a dark cloud of trouble was passing over me; and many stars were beginning, but still happily becalmed by a divine providence, and the mist which was so thicke in my Kingdom before, begun to breake and scatter, and I had a clearer prospect, now I could see about the clouds, and many mysteries opened themselves to my discovery; and now my Liberty increased, (ill this star fell into my lap, and then a horrow and darknesse spread over me againe.)

Edward
the 6. his
troubles.

Now my sufferings are returning again, and I must be once more wet in the blood of my inhabitants; yet those troubles did more comfort me, than the other did discontent me; and I rejoyced to be a tombe to those, whose bodies and ashes were perfumed with the holinesse of their soules, never did I more triumph in my noone and height of prosperisy, when I had peace and

Queene
Maries
troubles.

and all other blessings at the full, Oh ! I gathered up those drops of blood from the Martyrdome of those Saints, and congealed them into rubies and Corall, and made me dressings and Jewells of them, oh the radiant flames of those fires which gave more lustre unto my Kingdom then all the luminaries of heaven, then either Sun or stars : oh the glory of that age, and suffering, the lights of heaven, the day it selfe was darkned and occlipped with those fires, and the ashes of those Saints were an ornament and rich covering upon me : these were troubles of a fresher complexion, the tears that were then shed I preserved in channells, and it pleased me to looke upon such streams, such holy lamentations were musick to my hills and valleys, and the Psalmes which carried up the souls of my dying Martyrs were the sweetest harmony that ever the Trees of my Forrest ecchoed.

Queen Elizabeths
time.

But these waves in a short time left raging, and run in a smooth current, and now the stormes gave way to a more peaceable and quiet season, and a Lady enters upon my Throne, attended with graces and honours, with peace and flourishings, and this time I enjoy a composed and undisturbed condition, pleasures abound in my palaces and cities, and wealth and riches, and all plenties flow in all my habitations, now I am courted from abroad, and other Kingdomes send me Ambassadors, and wooes my favours, and acquaintance, not any noise of War is heard in my land, and when at any time a cloud was gathering against me, either from abroad or at home, I saw a Divine breath dispersing and blowing it away, and thus I passed years of pleasure, and my Peace and happinesse lengthens.

King James
his time.

Now a new Prince comes in, and to make me more blessed and completely glorious, he brings with him a people of his owne, and a kingdom too, and now I am returned to my ancient Liberties, and enlargements, now I am Britaine againe, and my dominions wider, and I hear not now a murmuring, or the least whisper of any trouble, though there were some endeavours by night, yet it was onely in a few treasonable and personall practices ; but oh, I had a strange misgiving then, me thought my peace was but a prodigious and boding calme, and I prophesied to my self that surely a tempest was not far off, and no sooner had a few years rowled over my head, but another King is seated in my throne, and as he sat downe, some drops of blood sprinkled upon the Sear, and stained the robes, which made me fear such a purple inauguration would be followed with as red a revenge, and with streams of blood hereafter.

King Charles
his time.

While I was triumphing some years in my new glory, enjoying the prosperity of a full throne, adorned with a Garland from France, feasting and banqueting at home and abroad with forraigne States, me thought I felt a distemper of alteration running in my veines, I begun to be sensible of new
Cere-

Ceremonies, and dressings, and paintings in my Religion, of new oppressions, new exactions in my State, my Court grew full of pride, gallantry, ambition, lust, and wantonness, my tribunalls full of iniustice, of unrighteousness, of bribery, my Cities full of deceits, cheatings, extortions, usuries, my Countries full of oppressions, ignorance, prophaneesse, covetousness, uncharitableness, my King grew credulous, my Courtiers Tyrannous, my Nobles and Gentry many of them vicious, and while these things were thus carried on, there began some strivings in my Northerne parts; and the troubles gathered, and in a short time were so many, that I felt two Armies in my bosome struggling, but they were soon appeased, and when I thought I had seen the returne of a peace, a new difference flames out, my King and subiects contend together, and from paper to powder, from pen to pistoll, and now behold a generation is risen up, destroying my Religion, my Lawes, my Liberties, my Parliament, my inhabitants, my Cities, my Countries, my Palaces: I thus have enriched them, how do they impoverish me? how do they consume my cattell, my wealth? how do they give my glory to the trappings and scornes of my enemies? how do they persecute my onely darling? the conservatory of my peace, the Cabinet of my prosperity? how is it broken up? how is that Parliamentary honour laid in the dust? how have they emboldned and encouraged those that durst not appear in my ruine before? those that I had curbed with laws, and chained with my nationall power? how have they have violated all? and taken off their fetters, and brought them out to be the persecutors, the tormentors, the murderers of my dearest subiects? how have they complied with other Nations, strangers to me in Religion, in Lawes, in Liberties? and these must be landed upon my shoares, and mixed with my inhabitants, a nation whom their own Kingdom have vomited out, as unworthy to tread upon the soyle; and these must come over into my habitations with hands besmeared in the blood of so many thousand Saints; O all ye that have any commiseration in your soules, any bowells of compassion, go fall down at the Throne of my Prince, speak to him with tears and sighes, to stop the bleeding of his Kingdom, to put away those purple Councillors, that dash my people together, that are never weary with contriving new engines and devices of blood and calamity! O pray him by his own obligations to me, his oath so solemnly taken to preserve me, pray him by all his former and many Protestations to defend my Religion, my peace, and Liberty, pray him by the comforts and endearments of the precious blossomes upon his Throne, pray him, as he regards the preservation of his Crowne, of his Parliament, of his Kingdom, nay of all his Kingdoms: O tell him the miserable and unfortunate glory of such a Conquest; the unhappy and unnaturall triumph in such spoiles.

Parliament.

Papists.

O call

O call to those Princes that are about him, call to their chariots to fly before they drive into irrecoverable ruine, call to their swords before they be drunken in the blood of those that have no crime, but Religion upon their soules.

O call to the Divines there before they recover the banks of Tyber, call them to returning from Idolatry, from Superstitions, call them home again before they arrive at those shadowes of desolation, which are in Babylon.

O call unto the people that are in Armes about him, that they will remember their Liberties, and look back and see them swimming down in the blood of their Ancestors, call to them to thinke upon their posterity, that they may not twist such cords for to binde themselves, &c make viths to tie their generations after them; O call to them to come out of the mist they fight in, hold before their eyes the Kingly & Parliamentary power they fight against, call to them to bring home the person of their King to the Throne that wants him, hold forth your Religion, your Reformation, which you received from other ages, and desires only so improve it to the generation after ye, hold forth the Liberties, the immunities of England, aske them if they be digging a Sepulchre to bury their grand Charter in before they die, and if they fight to make the will of their Prince a King.

And if still they go on in these contentions, they must know, I shall recover my Liberties against their swords, the ghosts of England will rise up and fight against them, those that have gone down to their graves in this debate both in this age, and in the ages before: heaven is engaged for me, and my people fight against an enemy whose idolatries, whose blood guiltinesse, whose blasphemies, and prophanations will take their part in destroying them, now is the time of my Reformation come, behold the many divine assistances, the many heavenly deliverances, the many miraculous evidences my people have had since the beginning of these wars, behold those eternall truths which are hastning their accomplishment, behold the Prophetically declination of Rome, behold how my people are returned home to me again, who have wandered abroad seeking sanctuaries from persecutions, as if they were sent before hand to wait for some new blessings, these are my certainties and undoubted comforts, my assurances, my expectations, and on the pillow of these I shall rest my wearied, and distressed, and complaining soule.

FINIS.



MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and
affaires of the Court, to the
rest of the KINGDOME.

The first Weeke, ending Jan. 6. 1643.



SUNDAY. Decemb. 31.



WE must begin this New-year with the last day of the old, unlesse (with the *Wise-men of London*) we should conceale a day, and relate that for *Monday* which was done the day before, reserving *Sunday* onely for Pulpit-blasphemies, though indeed the businesse of their Rebellion hath stil bin done on *Sunday*; as *Keinton-field*, *Braineeford*, *Hopton-Heath*, *Leedes*, *Chalgrove-field*, *Basing*, and other good works do testifie to the world. However, this last-first day of the yeare bids us all look back, how God hath blessed His Majesty since this day twelvemonth, when all the *West* of England (save one small County) was in the *Rebell* possession, When of all *Yorkshire* His Majesty had no more but *Yorke* itselfe, and *Pomfret* Castle; When His Royall Army was so scantied of quarters, that except *Reading*, *Wallingford*, *Brill*, and *Abingdon*, His Majesty had not a Souldier quartered out of *Oxford-shire*; When He had not one Ship, nor any Port to receive any (save *Newcastle* and *Falmouth*) When the *Members* declared in print, that the *Kings* whole
Strength

Strength in England was not full Ten thousand. Whoever remembers these, must needs consider that his Majesty now hath 5 Armies, each almost as great as That he brought to Oxford; that his Victories are so spread over the West, that in all the Counties of *Cornwell, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, &c.* He hath not left one armed Rebell but at *Plymouth* and *Poole*; That the *Yorkshire Rebels* are driven all into *Hull*, and the *Cheshire* into *Namptwich*, whence (ere this) they are driven out againe or worse; That (except once in *Lincolneshire*) They never mett His Majesties Forces in the field but were well beaten, as (besides *Sherburne Castle, Worcester, Keinton* and *Brainceford*) the battels at *Bodmin, Tadcaster, Hoptonbeath, Auckaster, Middleton-Cheney, Stratton, Beadfordmore, Chalgrove, Chuton, Lands down, Roundway-down, Auberne, Newbery, Leek, Middlewich*, and other places will be perpetuall Witnesses: That the remnant in *South Wales* is fully reduced, and *North-Wales* cleared, the whole *Principality* being entirely His Majesties; That his Majesty hath gained a Fleet as well as an Army: That the Rebels have not any one Towne which was in His Majesties possession this day twelve-month (except *Stafford*, and *Warrington*, which you'l heare more of ere long) and yet hath forced from the Rebels, *Salisbury, Cirencester, Birmingham, Leedes, Lichfield, Bradford, Halifax, Wakefield, Tamnton, Bristol, Bath, Dorchester, Weymouth, Biddesford, Barnestaple, Appleford, Tenby, Haversfordwest, Pembroke, Exeter* with divers other fortified Townes; not one of all which but was in the Rebels power this day twelvemonth: so that publick Justice by the Judges and Magistrates begins now to have her course, which will put an end to this trienniall Rebellion, and thereby free the Reader from being troubled any longer with *Mercurius Aulicus*, till we recover those happy days when there was no diary or Weekly Pamphlet in England.

MONDAY.

MONDAY. Jan. 1.

The first day of this year brought us in good newes from the Lord Marquess of of *Newcastle*, who (as we are advertised) lately put in execution the Commission of *Array* at *Chesterfield* in *Darbyshire*; where hee was met with the greatest concourse of people that hath beene seene in those parts these many yeares. And (as it was for certaine advertised) his Excellency had then gathered up above 2300 stout *Darbyshire* Voluntiers, resolved to venture their lives for their King and Country against this Rebellion; whereof Sir *John Gell* (by his sweetnesse and humanity) hath made them very sensible. And as a farther testimony of the peoples loyalty, that noble Knight Sir *John Harpur* had received very faire contributions of that County, for the maintenance of those Forces, among whom there was not one pressed man, but all voluntarily active to suppress the Rebels power, many of which are now at *Bantre* with Generall *King*, to stop the Rebels if they offer to make incursions that way,

TUESDAY. Jan. 2.

And 'tis no wonder the people are so notably awakened, since now they heare the Rebels Chaplaines speak so plainly; one of them (*Robinson* by name) taught his people at *Southampton* on the *Fast* day, that the King and Queenes Majesty were the chiefe authors of all this misery in *England*; and therefore (like Mr *Murford's* owne favorite) he broke into the old beaten way of blasphemy in these very words, O Lord (said he) for as much as thou and we know that the King and Queen have brought all this mischief upon us, therefore we beseech thee to separate and divorce those two asunder as farre as the East is from the West. 'tis pittie but this were printed according to Order; for 'tis as fit to be Voted, as the Author to have his breath stopped by that great Reformer, a handsome halter.

But since we mention Sermons, you may please to take notice

tice that *Stephen Marshall* hath printed his excellent peece made at the *Funerall of Master Iohn Pym*, which was so lamentable a theame, that he said he wondered why all faces did not gather blacknesse at it, And (if you'll grant mee liberty of Repetition this once) *O England, England*, (said he) I see thy wofull face in this glasse. Nay when he had compared *Iohn Pym* to *Iohn the Baptist*, for that he was taken away violently, after but two or three yeares worke: adding, That *Master Pym* was a man whom God went about to bribe, p.36. That he served the Publike from 3 of the clocke in the morning to the evening, and from evening to midnight (so as poor man he never slept above two or three houres at most) the good man (saies he) is perished, and the Princes, the Iudges, the Nobles, &c. are all Naught, pag. 10. for (saith he) in this mans death the Almighty testifieth against us ('tis well conf fted) and the Heavenly Father spitteth in our faces. And pag. 24. he telleth all the world what case the Rebels are now in. *Al* (saith he) the Lord hath broken all our carnall confidence, our Parliament is weakened, our Armies wasted, our Treasure is exhausted, our enemies increased, and of these few able hearts, heads, and hands, (who abide faithfull to this great Cause) it might even stab us to the very heart, to thinke how many of them the Lord hath even snatch'd away in the midst of their worke, and greatest need; that excellent spirited Lord the Lord Brook, that rare man *Mr John Hampden*, that true harted *Nathaniel Master Arthur Goodwin* &c: And lastly, he bespeaks the Members thus; *You his dear Children* (Right honourable Lords and Commons) who esteemed him as a Father. pag 38. Which interprets a passage in the last weeke's *Mercurius*, where you remember how they beg for money for *Master Pym's children*.

Now because these *Children* (the Parents of this Rebellion) must be maintained, therefore they made an Ordinance, that all the *Adventurers* for *Ireland* should meet at *Goldsmiths Hall*, (They love the very name of the place) on *Friday last Decemb. 29.* to consult how those *Adventurers* may be secured for the monies they lent two yeares since; which truly is an honest providence, to gratifie those who were willing to buy land and

and paid their money so long before. But in the end it proved a very *Ordinance*, as was nothing else but an usuall preface to borrow new summes, and the word *Irish Lands* hath gotten them so much, that they are not willing to leave it off.

And to set it forward, they must needs have some apposite Victory over the *Irish*, which because they want, they have approved Inventions, and have this week spread abroad in *London*, that Colonell *Masse*y hath been lately at *Wotton-under-edge* (the middle way betwixt *Gloucester* and *Bristol*) and brought home a great victory, with many prisoners, 4 peeces of Ordnance, and divers Armes. But I must tell the Reader, that this of *Wotton-under-edge*, was acted almost 3. weeks since, and need not have been retrieved, unlesse the Rebels were ambitious to be knowne perfidious. The businessse was truly thus, The 17. of this last Moneth, Colonell *Mynne* went from *Bristol* to take up quarters at *Wotton-under-edge* with his Regiment (part of those *English* which came lately out of *Ireland*) at his comming thither, the Inhabitants expressed much welcome, so much that they laboured to bestow more then sufficient drinke on the Souldiers, who weary with that dayes march, went to rest; where they had not been long, but Master *Masse*y of *Gloucester* (having private intelligence from the good Townesmen) came suddenly with his foote at one end of the Town, to surprize Colonell *Mynne*, who (being more vigilant then *Masse*y expected) tooke as many of his men as were ready, and met the Rebels at the Townes end; *Masse*y's Horse should have entred the same time, at the other end of the Towne; but missing their opportunity, the Foote were left to beare it out, which were so well received by Colonell *Mynne*, that they shamefully ran away, leaving 4 of their friends dead in the place, and six more prisoners, without the losse of any one of Colonell *Mynnes* Souldiers, only the Sergeant Major shot into the Arme. But for Ordnance, Armes, or Prisoners taken by *Masse*y; as he tooke none then, so is he not now in case to fetch any hereafter. And these of Colonell *Mynnes* Regiment, the Rebels report to deny to fight against them, but this falshood and treachery (were there nothing else) hath

so exasperated each man of them, that we wish the Rebels to fare as well as Colonell *Myns* Regiment would have them.

WEDNESDAY. Jan. 3.

But Master *Masseys* jurisdiction is within a narrow circuit, which is extream sensible of his good government. For wee had this day certaine Intelligence, that all the Inhabitants of *Gloucester*, and those other few Neighbours to the City are universally taxed, even to their wearing apparell, every private House-keeper, paying to this good Gentleman,

For every Bushell of Mault	01—15—0d
Inkeepers, &c. for every Hogshed of beere	0—4—0
For every joynt of roasted meat which cost xiid	0—0—1
For every man and woman that are House-keepers for safety of each of their persons, weekly	0—0—1
For Children and Servants for safety of each of their persons weekly	0—0—1

For every swine that's killed, and every one that kills 2 swine paies a whole fletch, the like ratable quantity for all sorts of corne and graine, &c.

Thus Master *Masseys* husbands his *Excise*, gleaning up contribution both when 'tis Mault, and when 'tis Drinke, for the Calfe, and the roasted Veale besides, and next for the men and women, masters and servants, for allowing them to live, and affording them freedome to breath a little longer in *Gloucester* at their owne homes, which his Worship hath made houses of bondage both to his friends, and those wonderfull few honest soules that reside in that Garrison.

Yet we cannot lay all the load on this good Rebell of *Gloucester*, his best Masters (the *Members*) doe the like to His Sacred Majesty. For on Thursday last there came forth an Ordinance of the pretended *Lords* and *Commons*, commanding all men to pay nothing to His Majesty, the Queene, or Prince, which is due, or ought to be paid unto them (that's the very expression.) For, (say these good Subjects) *Whereas the Lords and Commons in September last passed an Ordinance for*

for the seizing upon all His MAJESTIES, the QUEENS, and PRINCES Revenues (you are His Majesties good Subjects covenanting and sworn to maintaine His Honour, Crowne, and Dignity) and for receiving all, and all manner of Rents of what nature or quality soever, certaine or casuall, within the Realme of England and Dominion of Wales (nay, take those in Scotland also) with all the Arreares and Debts any way due to His MAJESTY, the QUEEN or PRINCE. Therefore the said Lords and Commons doe now ordaine that all the Rents & other duties any way due to His MAJESTIE, the QUEENE or PRINCE, shall be paid to the Receivers of the Committee for the Revenue; commanding all Treasurers and Collectors to give obedience to this present Ordinance, and to pay all summes due unto His Maj stie; the Queene and Prince, to the said Receivers within the severall Counties and places, whose severall Acquittances shall be a sufficient discharge. Nay, there you must excuse us, the Collectors must give another account, and evidence to the world whether guilty or not-guilty; and after satisfie their severall consciences which so often have beene pretended and abused.

Now, because they take all from His Majesty (because hee is their owne Sovereigne) yet some foraigners may finde favour at their hands; and therefore they have sent out an Ordinance of moderation ('tis the first we ever yet saw) for abating the Excise upon Virginia Tobacco, that the Protestants their Brethren in other Countreies may not suffer among Malignants and Delinquents in England. And to give them their due, it is a very brotherly part; but then consider this Ordinance was begotten by late newes, which came from Virginia, that the Inhabitants of that Plantation denyed to send a penny to this holy Rebellion, though the Rebells Emisaries pressed them hard with heaps of brave victories, relations of plots to introduce popery, Lands in Ireland, and those other Common places for Publique faith. The Virginians urging this unanswerable Argument, that King CHARLES never used them as they are used now, by those who call themselves the Parliaments friends. Which faire reply drew out this Ordinance, for abating the
Excise

Excise on their Tobacco; and now if the *Virginians* will lend no money, the *Members* have power to repent of their good workes, and can stifle their Ordinance as easily as they begot it.

But the Rebels care not much for the Plantation in *Virginia*, if they can but keep up their credit at *Dunkirke*; for which purpose *Richard Downes* (their admirable Agent) sweats night and day, with honest good words, and honester Letters to spread abroad the equity of their excellent Rebellion; and hoping his endeavours had taken good effect, he lately bought five and twenty thousand Armes for his good Masters the Rebels. But some noble Gentlemen at *Dunkirke* not onely stopped these Armes from comming over to the Rebels, but have arrested *Downes* himselfe, and forced him to turne all the Armes into money. Which shewes the Rebels constant to their principles, of *slandering others for their owne practises*; for 'tis notorious to the world how this bold faction libelled His Majesty for buying *Ammunition*, and abundance of Armes at *Dunkirke*, even then when he had not one barrell of powder; yet labour it themselves for five and twenty thousand Armes at once.

THURSDAY. Jan. 4.

We told you on Friday was seavenight of His Majesties Proclamation for Assembling the Members of both Houses at Oxford, and then we thought it newes (such as we are sure they can never expect better) but it seemes the wise *Londoners* learnedly fore-saw it long before. For this day wee received a Pamphlet ('tis the *WEEKLY POST*) who sayes, that this *New-years-day* is the *Sextile* of Jupiter with the Moon. *MARS* (saith he) is a joviall fellow, but that mad lasse *LUNA* disturbs him, which (saith he) portends winds and clouds, and such weather we had in the stormy Proclamation from Oxford, which beat so hard upon the Parliament Houses, that had they not beene built on a Rocke, these furious tempests might have blowne downe all: a very pretty calculation. But truly friends
it

it were best to leave predictions of the future, till you have got the trick to speake truth of what is past. And since your Observations run so much upon dayes (especially what dayes most endanger the pretended Houses) be pleased also to remember, that this very day (1641) His Majestie shewed the world what would *destroy the House*, yea, and the Kingdome also, if not timely prevented. Let posterity judge if His Majestie were not the better Prophet.

Yet although divers of the chiefe Contrivers are *snatched away* (as Master Marshall expresses it) the work still moves by that originall vertue and power which these diseased Patriots conveyed into it; And the Remnant (their Successours) need onely repeat what their Predecessours taught them, which they will carefully. Particularly, on Tuesday last Jan. 2. they had a solemn *Thanks giving* at *Christ Church* in London for the safe returne of three Regiments againe to London, which had bene in pilgrimage with Sir William Waller; but how safe they came backe let the London Widdowes and Orphanes manifest. And that it might come forth a perfect full *Thanks giving*, an excellent Letter was ready for the purpose, of a mighty dectar given to His Majesties Forces at *Plymouth* by Colonell Wardlaw, and I know not who. Now though this was read by Master *Thanksgiver* in the Pulpit, yet the plot was so ill layed, and the forgery so grosse, that even the very Aldermen perceiv'd it, and went out of the Church unedified, without so much ignorance as would make it up a Victory; so as an honest Glover that heard all, told his friends that *this was not so like a Victory as those they were used to have*.

But Sir William Waller could not part with these Citizens, unlesse some others would fill up that gap. For which purpose the Members and their Assignes (the Committee for the Militia) sent him two other Regiments of faithfull Londoners, the *Blew* and the *Yellow*. Nay, if he prosper he shall have any thing, and therefore his Commission to be *Serjeant Major Generall* of *Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex and Kent*, hath lyen dormant hitherto, and never sent to him, till now that he is confident of *Arundell Castle*, which Castle he hath earned,

ned, having already paid so deare for it, considering it was taken from them but few dayes ago.

For you must know all Castles belong to the Rebels, as sure as they have right to His Majesties Revenues; and if it happen they are so strong as to make them confident, you shall heare them assert their right, which will sufficiently appeare by this Letter of Sir Thomas Middletons (written to the Governour of Denbigh Castle) when he and his Brother Brereton were lately in North-Wales, confident to carry all men and places before them.

S I R,

Through all opposition God hath brought mee with a considerable force to Wrexham able both to defend my selfe and offend my foes: wherein I am by unquestionable power as well authorised, to preserve the peace of this County from the violence and oppression used and exercised by the Commissioners of Array and others in armes against the Parliament, as also to protect and receive into grace and favour such as willingly come in and submit to the obedience of King and Parliament. This power I shall labour to put in execution, and this is the intent of my coming into these parts: Sir, I understand that for the present you are in Denbigh Castle in armes, and Governour thereof, and being formerly satisfied of your ingenious disposition, I cannot doubt but your intentions and mine will agree and on your part produce such actions as may conduce to your honour and safety and the prosperity of these oppressed Countiees and therefore I doe invite you hereby, and I desire God you may for your owne good embrace it that you would please to submit your selfe to the power and obedience of the King and Parliament, lay downe your armes, and deliver up that Castle to me or those that I shall appoint to be disposed of for the service and for the publike peace and safety of these parts, which if you shall doe you shall not only be protected in person and estate by mee and my power, but also you shall approve your selfe as formerly you have bene a Patriot and preserver of your Countrey, a lover of Religion and an instrument of the publike good, and will be by the State taken notice of as an acceptable service. Sir, now I have discharged

JAN. 4. 1643.

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discharged my conscience, desiring your serious consideration and speedy resolution, and so desire God to direct you and remains

Wrexham, 14. Nov.

1643.

*Your old and true friend
and Kinsman*

THOMAS MIDDLETON.

But the Noble and valiant Governour of the Castle readily returned an answer, which hath so much truth and loyalty in it, that Sir Thomas Middleton satisfied himselfe, and sent nothing against the Castle but his Letter, which you'll say had a sufficient answer, which was this.

SIR,

I desire not to live longer then I approve my selfe true to my King and Country, a lover of the true Protestant Religion: and that I yeeld cheerfull and hearty obedience to the King and the Parliament: and if the want of that Obedience be your quarrell, or any part of the cause of your comming with force into these parts, it is an offence taken, but not given. But to be plaine: to betray so great a trust as the keeping of Denbigh Castle (though upon never so faire pretences) may be acceptable to them that desire it, but in my opinion is in it selfe abhominable, and must needs render him that should doe it odious to God and all good men; and I shall never account him my friend that should move me to it. For the discharge of that trust, in the meane time and for no other cause I have armed my selfe as well as God did enable me, and these Armes (with Gods leave) I shall beare and use for the service of my King and Countrey. This is my answer to you, and with Gods helpe the firme and constant resolution of him that is

Denbigh Castle
this 16. Nov.
1643.

*Your Kinsman, and would be your
true friend, as farre as truth and
loyalty will give leave*

WILLIAM SALISBURY.

b 2

You

You see all Kinsmen are not of equall honesty, nor (which is all one) a like valiant; for no sooner had Sir *Michael Ernley* landed with his Forces, which for number were scarce so many as Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *Thomas Middleton*; yet upon their very coming a-shore, the Rebels gave up all, left their Ordnance, their Garrisons, and went some of them so farre, that they stopped not till they came to their Generall at Saint *Albanes*, where Sir *Thomas Middleton* was scene within very few dayes after.

And when he came to Saint *Albanes* he found His Excellency busie at a Councell of VVar, sitting upon life and death for Master *Nathaniel Fiennes*, whose tryall had beene many weekes spun out, but at last concluded with his condemnation on Friday last, for cowardly delivering up the City of *Bristol*, which to mee seemes somewhat strange, that they should hang only Mr *Fiennes*, who (if they thinke fit) may quickly end these distractions by a few Councels of VVarre. if every coward in their Armie may have the like tryall; 'twere fit they tried their whole Army, beginning at their Commanders, till they come as low as the *Saw-pit* it selfe.

FRIDAY. Jan. 5.

But the spirituall *Conventicle* will be more mercifull then to exact your *life*, they'll enely desire your *Benefice*, or some poore *Lecture* like *Cornelius Burges* whose settled stipend is not a penny more then 400 *per annum*. And though this fraternity (for the most part of them) hath zeale, ignorance, and partiality sufficient to tie them together; yet that Spirit that set them on worke against their Lord and Sovereigne, playes tricks with them, scattering them into diversities of thoughts and factions, so as the *Presbyterians* grinne upon the *Independents*, and they upon the other, which hath forced their Holinesse to publish a *Manifest* this weeke in print among the *REMARKABLE PASSAGES*, the briebe whereof is this. *That it belongs to Christian Magistrates to be Leaders in Reformation of the Church* (His Sacred Majestie

was

was the supreme *Christian Magistrate*, till this Rebellion was Lectur'd up in His Dominions,) 2. *That it is the duty of all people to pray for them and wait upon them* (so it be not in a set forme of prayer.) 3. *That the Honourable Houses of Parliament have required the Assembly of Divines to make the Word of God their only Rule*, (whereby to justify a Rebellion, as expressly against the Word of God as against His Majestie.) 4. *That nothing can bee more destructive against the cause of Religion, then to be divided among themselves*; (who purposely sweare to *Leagues and Covenants*, that they may confound what is settled.) 5. *That the Assembly and Parliament* (for so it runnes, and so it will be in the dayes of the *Presbytery*) will not onely reforme Religion throughout the Nation, but will concurre to whatsoever shall appeare to be the Rights of particular Congregations, (will not onely pull all to pieces, and set up the *Presbytery*, but preserve *Independency*, which will pull downe *Presbytery*.) 6. *That all people forbear till they see whether the right rule will not be commended to them in this orderly way*. (the right way backwards; as *Touch not mine Anointed*: signifies, Touch not my Common people.) Lastly, *That we doe already enjoy more liberty to serve God, then ever was in England before*: Yes, that yee doe; A liberty to blaspheme, lye, speake Treason, in Print, in Sermons, in Prayers, to the eternall shame of the pretended *Reformers*, and all in pretence of conformity to the Kirke of Scotland, which you peaceably would establish (with a forraigne Army) in the Christian blood of all loyall *English-men*.

Yet it will not be safe to leave their *Scottish Brethren* to do all the worke; for *Stephen Marshall* (who was In Scotland with young *Sir Henry Vane*) tells them this weeke in print, *That he is affraid lest relying too much on the Scottish Army, will hurt the Parliaments Cause more then any one thing besides*. And let the pretty bookes in London speake every weeke of 2. 000 *Scotts*, others 27000, others of 30000, and others of 32000, nay make it (just as much as the demanded money) full 300000, and preach it an act of piety too. VVe content our selves, that we are certaine it is a most horrid Rebellion odious

to God and all good men, that we doubt not but that God will blesse His Majesties Forces in the North, where Sir *Thomas Glenham* is ready at *Newcastle* with 8000 loyall subjects, (stronger then twice so many Rebels, as these two last yeares have evidenced to the V World) where two men in three of the foure Northerne Counties have voluntarily offered their lives and fortunes for His Majesty. upon the motion onely for every third man : *Carlisle* and other Garrisons being sufficiently stored with good provisions both for life and death.

SATURDAY. JAN. 6.


And (as from the next good neighbour) an expresse came this day from the Noble Lord *Byron* signifying, that on Thursday last his Lordship tooke *Crew House* (a strong Garrison of the Rebels) all the Armes, Ordnance, and Ammunition, to be delivered to my Lord Generall for His Majesties use, the bodies of all, both Officers and Common Souldiers to the Kings pleasure, the baggage and goods for reward to the Souldiers; 6 Commanders were in it, and 165 Souldiers, every one well armed, besides a surplusage of Armes more then to serve as many more.

As also that his Lordship had taken *Doddington House* (belonging to Sir *Thomas Delves*) in which House the Rebels had a Garrison, to both which we must adde *Wibbenbury Church*, taken in also by that noble Lord, who in two or three weekes hath cleared *Middlewich*, *Northwich*, *Beeston-Castle*, *Macclesfield*, *Chelmondley House*, *Crew House*, *Sandbach*, *Doddington*, *Wibbenbury*, (all but *Namptwich*, which at the comming away of the Messenger was upon surrendring) taken almost 2000 Prisoners, and above 1500 Armes, marching at this present full 7000 Horse and Foot, which will have a faire influence on the neighbour Counties, especially *Staffordshire*, whence a partie of his Lordships Horse Decemb. 24. fetched the Major of *Newcastle-under-line*, with divers of Sir *William Breretons* Letters found in his pocket, who now is in *Chester Castle*. And late this evening newes came from my Lord *Hopton*, certifying that his Lordship had taken *Walberton House* in *Sussex*. with above 200 Prisoners in it, together with all their Armes, Ammunition, and Goods.

But

But the Weekelyes Londoners are full of courage and speake pretty largely this weeke also. First one sayes, That the forces late come over out of Ireland are hardly perswaded to any service against the Parliament; And another sayes, Those bloody Irish which are come over to the Cavaliers will give no manner of quarter (Fie Gentlemen, not friends yet 1) 2. That Sir William Brereton was lately at Stafford, and returned speedily to Nampwich, (No, 'twas to Middelwich, and returned thence very speedily) 3. That Captaine Ellicot having fought for the King, was taken and hanged by a Councell of Warre, and yet would not recant his turning Cavalier but dyed in his sinne, (Remember this when your turne comes) 4. That the six associated Counties are raising 8000. men to joyne with those 12000. under the Earle of Manchester (That odde 20000 is too litle, it must be forty thousand) 5. That All Christians may observe that none of His Majesties affaires prospered since the Irish forces came over (send that observation to all parishes of North Wales and Cheshire) 6. That Colonell Wardlow hath sallied out of Plymouth and killed many Cavaliers in their Quarters neare Tavetocke in Devonshire (sure the old Burgess of Tavestocks told you so) 7. That Maior Skippon took 6 Colonels in Grafton House (Hee tooke one and you tooke five) 8. That in Grafton House there were taken 300 prisoners and 600 armes; Another sayes almost 150 prisoners and most of them armed (Did the House order both your Relations to be printed?) 9 That many of the English which came out of Ireland will not fight against the Parliament, but have sent their ships unfraught backe into Ireland. (They sent them to fetch over more forces for your sake) 10. That 150 of the Irish forces are gone to Sir William Brereton into Nampwich; (as sure as Sir William is in Nampwich) 11. That 200 more of the Irish are come from Chetter to Colonell Massey. (the two ends of your lye are a great way asunder) 12. That the Devill hath beene lately in Summetsshire among the Cavaliers; Another sayes, that the Garrison in Poule hath sallied lately into Somerseshire (joyne those two together) 13 That Master Henderson praying as Westminster last Fast day, exhorted the people to pray that God would blesse the Scottish Army,

my, that they might perfect the worke here, and returne home in peace (you slander Master Hinderfon. he never prayed, they might returne backe into Scotland) 14 That at Rigate in Surrey there were found 4 pieces of Ordnance, which had beene left there when aunciently it was a Garrison of the Romans (the Ordnance had Iulius Caesar's name on, and were left at Rigate by some of Caesars Gentlemen, who were great Tobacco-mis) 15 That the Assembly of Ministers at London is a Right Reverend Assembly (take heede how you are called Right Reverend, tis enough to loose your Votes) 16. That this Assembly ought to be obeyed because it is a body of learned Divines (It is so, there are almost 20 Clergie men, besides Preachers) 17 That Colonel Virey was buried at Oxford with a great deale of Popish pompe (He desires a bill of the funerall expenses) 18 That though Sir William Brereton were mightily strained by the Forces out of Ireland, yet now (thanks be to God) he begins againe to enlarge his quarters (He enlarged his quarters as fast as his heels could carry him) 19 That now Colonel Fiennes is condemned to die by a Counsell of Warre for cowardly delivering up Bristoll, and may be a faine warning to all cowards (Do not call him Coward, I have sixteene of your last yeares Pamphlets where you write him the valiant and vigilant Governour of Bristoll) 20 That the Major and Citizens of Worcester have driven out the Cavaliers and keepe the City for the Parliament (Aske Sir Williams Waller if he'l beleve it) 21 That some of Sir Michael Earnley's Troopers would faine come to Sir William Brereton (Yes they would faine goe to Sir William if they knew where to find him) 22 That some men for denying to fight against the Parliament were hanged by the Cavaliers at Bristoll (Not any hang'd at Bristoll since Yeomans and Burchier by Nathaniel Fiennes) 23 That most of the Cavaliers taken at Gainsborough had Cards in their Pockets, whereas the Parliament Souldiers daily carry Psalm booke (The leafe is turned downe at the Psalm of mercy) 24 That these Gainsborough Cavaliers (besides Cards) had Crucifixes in their pockets, & popish pictures (Those pictures were onely the painted cards, 4 Kings, 4 Queenes, and 4 close Committee-men.


 FINIS.

*K. P. Wilson
Special Passages*

A

Number $\frac{10}{3}$

CONTINUATION

Of certain Speciall and Remarkable passages

informed to the PARLIAMENT, and otherwise from

divers parts of this Kingdome, from Wednesday the 10. of

January till Wednesday the 27. of January. 1644.

Containing these Particulars, viz.



1. A true relation of the last News touching the advance of the *Scotts* Army against *Newcastle*, and the report of a Skipper come to Town on Sunday night last, and now in custody that affirms the taking of *Newcastle* by the *Scotts*.
2. A true relation of a letter from *Oxford* relating sundry late passages of great concernment thence.
3. A true relation of the last News from *Lincolne-shire*, and the taking of two Troopes of the Enemies Horse by Colonell *Cromwells* Forces, the one at *Balderton* and the other at *Claydon* neare unto *Newark*.
4. A true relation of the last news from the Westre parts and of the *Hoptonians* new Fortifications in severall places, raising to prevent Sir *VVilliam VVallers* further progresse in the *West*.
5. A true relation of 3000. Prisoners taken in severall places by the Parliaments Forces.
6. A true relation of the number of the Prisoners taken by the Cavaliers and their usage at the Isle of *Silly* in the West.
7. A true relation from *Plymouth* since the siege was raised.
8. A true relation of the States Ambassadors accompanied by the Members of both Houses of Parliament to the Lord Majors.
9. A true relation of Master *Sydenhams* hunting with Colonell *Tregunwin* et alias in *Dorset-shire*.
10. A true relation of a Ship laden with Armes bound to *Chester*, and compelled by the Saylor to put into *Liverpoule* to serve the Parliament.
11. A true relation of the discourse of Colonell *Huncks* and *Shorley*.
12. A true relation of the last News from Sir *William B. Kereton* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* by letters on Tuesday.
13. A true relation of an excellent exploit of Co'onell *Masfies* in taking 400. of the *Irish* forces lately neare to *Gloucester*, with the Lord *Sandois* neare escape.

London, Printed for *F. Coles*, and *F. Lamb*, & are to be sold in the *Old Baly*.

ИОІТАVИІТНОО

Of certain Special and Remarkable nature

informed to the P. A. L. A. M. and otherwise to

10. For only \$45000, Wacoit provides a lot to see, and a

January 11, 1900

Continued on next page

1. The first of these is the fact that the majority of the population of the United States is now living in urban areas. This is a result of the process of urbanization, which has been going on since the beginning of the 20th century. The process of urbanization is the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas. This is done for a variety of reasons, including the search for better living conditions, the desire for education, and the need for employment. The process of urbanization has led to the growth of large cities and the decline of small towns. This has had a significant impact on the way we live and work. For example, it has led to the development of new technologies and industries, and it has changed the way we think and behave. The process of urbanization is still going on, and it is likely to continue for many years to come. This means that we need to be prepared for the challenges that it will bring. One of the main challenges is the need for housing. As more people move into urban areas, there will be a need for more housing. This means that we need to build more houses and apartments. Another challenge is the need for transportation. As more people live in urban areas, there will be a need for more roads and public transportation. This means that we need to build more roads and public transportation systems. The process of urbanization is a complex one, and it is one that we need to understand if we are to live and work in the 21st century. It is a process that has shaped the world that we live in, and it is one that will continue to shape the world for many years to come. We need to be aware of the challenges that it brings, and we need to be prepared to meet them. Only then can we ensure that we have a bright future for ourselves and for our children.

10-11-1944

1. The first of these is the fact that the

1. The first group of people who are interested in the results of the study are the researchers themselves. They want to know if the study was successful in achieving its objectives and if the results are consistent with their expectations.

4. The relation of the field to the source is as follows:

the latter has been published in 1974.

1990

100

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

[illegible]

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

11. The value of the function $f(x)$ is 1 for all x in the domain of f .

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7

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.



A CONTINUATION OF Certaine Speciall and Remarkable passages informed to the Parliament, and otherwise from divers parts of this Kingdome.

From Wednesday the 10. of January till Wednesday the
 17. of January. 1644.



Hereas there hath and yet still is a rumour of the *Scotts* taking *Newcastle*, and that the generality relates it for truth, In briefe I shall, and can satisfie the world in as much as can be said in this particular. This report was on Thursday night last spread abroad, the next day certified by the *Doves*, to the which many Gentlemen and others gave the more credence in respect it came from the mouth of so harmlesse and innocent a creature; which at first, though I would not my selfe be too confident to believe, yet by some other occurrences could not but conceive it of much probability: Since which a fresh report is revived, and maintained originally (as I conceive from this) that there is a Skipper, or Sea-Men arrived on Sunday night last, and was with some of the *Scotts* Commissioners now in Towne, averring that he came from *Newcastle*, and was there present on wednesday the 10. of this month, when the *Scotts* with the number (as he conceives) of about 12000 Horse and Foote came before the Towne, and summoned it for King and Parliament, declaring that the Inhabitants and others shall have a full assurance of their former Liberties, Law, and Religion, whereupon a few very little repulse the Towne was surrendered, and the Governour *Glenham* with his forces marched away towards *York*. The Skipper that reports this is now in safe custody, & offers to submit to any punishment that shall be inflicted on him; if the relation be not true. Reader you see the words are very plaine, but for my own part, I am as yet hardly persuaded to give credit thereto, & the rather (if what there is not any Letters come to the Parliament touching the same: but I answered againe for that, that although *Newcastle* be taken

taken *Tymouth Castle* is yet in the hands of the Enemy, and untill that bee also regained there can be no safe passage from thence by Sea, and the passage by land is more difficult in short, although by a forcurrente the relation may seeme very probable, I shall desire you to give no further credit thereto, then shall be confirmed by further intelligence, which doubtlesse cannot bee long first: In the interim let it be a faire warning to all Coale Merchants and others to sell off their Coales apace, and at more reasonable Rates, they will doubtlesse repent themselves ere long he else, for beleve it, if *Tymouth Castle* be once taken, there are for certaine many Saile of Shippes, Colliers and others laden with Coales in and about *Newcastle* that will bee for *London* with the next opportunity offered.

In a letter or script of paper from *Oxford* dated the seaventh of this present *January*, mention is made of private murmurings, and that the very Malignants themselves repine at the errors of the Papaticall government, and say that the mony his Majesty hath consumed of late, hath beene more formall then effect, and more chargeable then honorable, and are of opinion that his Majesties Ambassadors have not negociated as they ought, for say they, how can these his Majesties undertakings be so suddenly disclosed, but that there must needs be a Judas amongst their Councels, or a Devil to reveale their secrets, hence it is to be understood that they are posselt with Troubles, and feares, and to speake the truth their Goodliest Ministers doe already pray against that evil day, with so much earnestnesse as if it were at hand, and though there be order given they shall preach nothing but Popish Divinity, yet a man may easily perceive, that if they durst, they would speake their Consciences.

There was an Order of the Lord, and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the better raising, leaving, and impressing of Mariners, Saylors, and others, for the present Guarding of the Seas and necessary defence of the Realme, and oth^r his Majesties dominions, by vertue of which Ordinance there is a Committee appointed to sit at the Veltree in Saint *Tulzer* Street to consult of the businesse, and there they to appoint and authorize such persons, as they in their discretions shall seeme fit for that service, provided, that no money or other reward shall betaken, or any corrupt practise used by any the persons authorized in or for the pressing, changing, sparing, or discharging of any person, or persons, to be impress as aforesaid as they will Answer, such Offence in Parliament. And it is further Ordered that no waterman to be pressed, to serve as Souldiers in any land service, except in case of extreme necessity, and that with the consent and privy of the Lord high Admirall of *England*, or by expresse order of both Houses of Parliament.

The last news from Colonell *Cromwell* is related thus, that at the Towne called *Baderian* neare *Newark*, the Colonell had intelligence, that a Troope of horse under command of one Capitaine *Sauls* came from *Newark* to make merry, whereupon the Colonell sent into the Town one quarter of his Troope, which

which company tooke the whole Cavalier Troope; the Captaine only escaped which had private notice in his bed upon which he started out of his nest, and run with his breeches in his hand like a Beelam full to *Newarke Towne*, a mile further from the said Town of *Bedderton* at *Claworth* or *Clamouth*, there was another jolly crew, under the Command of one Captaine *Scott*, whose Company were at a Wedding, dancing some what late in the night, in the interim came the same Col. with his Souldiers, and surprised *Scott* and his whole Troope, the Leivtenant only escaped for the present, but afterwards found under the Bride-Grooms bed, who swore that his taking doth not so much greive him, as that he lost his opportunity with the Bride. The number of those two Troopes are only 50 and 60 each, though in Custody.

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From the Westerne parts it is credibly informed that the Cavalry since the defeat given the Kings forces at *Arundell* at Towns especially *Marstane Towne*, *Bissell*, *Bridgewater*, *Mynyard*, and the like, are more and more loosning and that further to prevent *Sir William Wallers* entrance in the West. *Sir Ralph Hopton* with the advice of his Cavalry intends to take in a hill, and 8. or 10. acres of land called *Warbillin* in *Hampshire*, which hill is of that consequence in seeing the Countrey about, that they will not onely plant Ordnance, but intends to make Huts and Tents for Souldiers, thinking thereby to stopp the passage of the Parliaments forces, and that all Garris- sons of the Kings Westward shall bee cleared and divided in three or foure Armies, one quarter at *Winchester*, another at *Wyke*, a third at *Reading*, and a fourth at *Oxford*, all which places are fifteen or twenty miles distant, so that by the story all the West are certainly the Cavaliers cove, without questioning why or wherefore.

We have of Prisoners taken within this little while betweene 2. or 3000. It were to bee wished we observed some of the Cavaliers rules; it is supposed there was at *Stratford* (by the treachery of *Chidley*) and on the Heath in *Cornwall*, *Exeter*, and other places in *Devon*, the Enemy hath in custody betwene 1000. or 1200. of the Parliaments souldiers in prison, some of which have endured a great deale of misery and want, in an Island called *Silly*, the uncomfortablest place in the world, after which misery the generality petitioned to be releaced, and they would live and dye for his Majesty and in his service, upon which officers &c. and common Souldiers taken by *Chidleys* treachery, tooke the oath and are now in actuall warres against the Parliaments: others here be that have absolutely renuked their oathes, or vowes, and are resolved to perish in Durance, having made a severall vow, then to yeeld to take up Armes against the Parliaments, all which if truly reported, shall bee transported to *Argiers*, and there to be exchanged for the Captives there, which have these many yeares lived in bondage and slavery: if this project bee once set on foot by the Kings penny, it will bee a good way to imitate them, rather in regard of the excessive charges they put the State and King- dome too.

Wee

We have had no certainty by Letters from *Phisburgh* since the siege was raised, save that two or three foote travellers who relates that divers Gentlemen have deserted the Papisticall proceedings, and laid downe their Commission, but as some fall off, others fall on, and what are these that are fallen off, men of great estates, and would sleepe in whole skinnes if that they may, others in their places, younger brothers, Gentlemen of loose and broken fortune, old Souldiers, so that they care not which way the winde blowes bee it for the good, or ill of a Kingdome.

The Cavaliers are dispersed in these severall quarters since the siege was raised at *Phymouth*, to witt, *Modbury*, *Phympton*, *Mary Saltsa*, and *Taunstocke*: Master *Parker* of *Burrington*, Sir *Richard Strouds* of *Mevy* and Mr. *Saveryes*, all three Gentlemen of great worth in that Countrey, their Estates seized on, their houses made stables of, all which confirmed by three or foure witnesses.

Theould Lord *Iskeene*, and other two Lords the States Ambassadors from *Holland* landed at *Deale*, and since are come to *Gravysend*, upon notice thereof to the Parliament, both Houses have appointed one Lord, and two Members of the House of Commons to go to meet them, viz. The Earle of *Darby*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, & Sir *William Strickland*, and to accompany them to the Lord *Mayes*, where both the Lords and Commons, with the Lords the *Scotts* Commissioners are also invited to Dinner on Thursday next, before whome at *Christ Church*, Master *Marshall's* appointed to preach, and to give God thanks in preserving this Parliament and City, from the secret practises and Malitious designs of their Enemies.

At a private meeting in or neette *Winborne* in *Darsetshire* about the begining of this Moneth Colonell *Tregension*, Master *Lowett*, Sir *Francis Filford*, et alia where after some consultation, they agreed to invite Master *Francis Sydenham* Governour of *Paole* to a hunting Feast, and be it by feire or foule means they would Chase him to *Dorchester Goale*, notwithstanding this private Plot, Master *Sydenham* had notice, and at a Day perfixed came to the place appointed, but two howers sooner then he was expected, for it seemed he and his fellowes came into *Tregension* Stables, and tooke all his ambling Geldings which he greatly delighted in, and brought them all away before they were missed but he left a note behind him where he should have them againe, if he would come for them, so that by estimation the horse are valued at 3000. pound
this

this Gentleman hath had two or three haire before by the Lord Clifford, but he had the fortune to follow them and laugh at their idle inventions.

From the North it is certified that at *Liverpoole* a shippe of the Kings which he lent from *Bristol* to carry Armes and Ammunition to *Chesler* is come into *Liverpoole* to serve the Parliament, the sailors compelling their Master to put in there, which Armes will helpe to recrute Colonell, *Ashtons* Regiment who received a defeat by the Lord *Byron* neere *Nauntwich* in *Shropshire*.

Sir *Fulke Huncks* who came lately from *Ireland* with some English Irish, had some discourse at *Bistol* with Colonell *Sherley*, lamenting this time so ill spent in *Ireland* without benefit, Colonell *Sherley* replied and wished that it would please God to send peace, for said he, I have my hand full, and have gotten sufficient to maintaine me till death, the truest word that ever he spake, for hee leapt no opportunity of plunder when it was to be had.

From *Gloucestershire* by sundry credible persons come to towne, on wednesday, we have intelligence of an excellent exploit lately performed by Colonell *Massy*, Governour of *Gloucester*, and it is thus related; The Colonell having notice of a party of the Enemies about 500 on their march from *Bath*, most of them Irish, with the young Lord *Shandois* in Company towards *Teuxbury* upon a designe to plunder the Countrey, went from *Gloucester* with a considerable force against them, and accordingly both parties met within eight miles of *Gloucester* at a Towne called *Charlton* (I take it) and after a short encounter, Colonell *Massy* charging them with much gallantry put their 500 to the Rout, and quite disperst them, taking many prisoners, but above all, most of the said Irish forces thus disperst, not well relishing as you may perceive the service they are engaged unto, to fight against the Parliament, turned faces about againe, forsook their own Commanders, and came backe by tenne and twenty in a company, freely offering themselves to serve under Colonell *Massy*, so that in short space of the whole 500 there was neere upon 400. that of their owne Accord came backe to him, and were taken Prisoners with their Armes.

One thing I had almost forgott, and that is this; the young Lord

Lord *Shaudois* (it is said) at the time of this exploit, was feasting in the Towne with Doctor *English*, one of the same Tribe, and were also very neare to a surprize, Colonell *Massy* having sent a party to besett the House where they were, but thanke their Horses and the benefitt of a backe doore they both escaped.

From Sir *William Brereton* we have now certaine intelligence come, and the truth is this, that Sir *William* upon the defeat given to Colonell *Aston* fled out of *Nantwich*, sell upou the Enemy rescued some Prisoners they before had taken, and foure smale peeces of Ordnance or Drakes that were neare lost, but the 900. Prisoners talked off, was a mistake. Also it is further certified that Sir *William* having placed a strong Garison at *Nantwich*, himselfe about the begining of the last week came to *Stafford*, where mett him Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with his horse and Dragoones, since which Sir *Thomas* is gone to *Manchester* to joyne with a party of footen in a readinesse there to assist Sir *William Brereton*, upon the Conjunction of which forces Sir *Thomas* will withal speed to *Nantwich*, whether Sir *William Brereton* is gone back againe, upon the meeting of all these forces will no dout be able to stopp the current of the Truculent Enemy in those parts.



This is Licenced and entered according to Order.



11
MERCVRIVS

AQVATFVS,

OR, THE

VVATER-POETS

ANSVVER TO ALL THAT

hath or shall be Writ by

MERCVRIVS

BRITANICVS.

Ex omni ligno non fit MERCURIUS.



OXON

Printed in the Waine of the Moone

Pag. 121, and Number 16, of

Mercurius Britannicus. 1643.

January 1844





MERCVRIVS AQUATICVS
Confuting the Fooleries of
BRITANICVS.

BE it known to all People to whom these presents shall come, that I *Thorny Aylo* Water-Poet Laureat (if my place be not sequestred for the use of *Tho. May* for his Poeticall relation of his Excellencies Victory at *Newbury*, and more Poeticall interpretation of *TOUCH NOT MINE ANOYNTE*) whose *Pegasus* was a Wherry, and whose *Helicon* the *Thames*, till all Wit and Honesty were banished out of *London*, except what lies lurking in the Close-Committee) doe resolve once and but once to take into little consideration, one that calls himselfe by the high and mighty title of *Mercurius Britanicus*, who by Order of the House is made Receiver Generall of all Quibbles, Crops, Clinches, Puns, Halfe-jests, jests, fine sentences, witty sayings, rare truths, modest and dutifull expressions that are to be found within the Line of Communication, to the utter undoing of poor *Mercurius Aulicus*, did not such a doughty Squire as my selfe daigne to take up that Paper which *Aulicus* (corns to touch for feare of fouling his fingers.) And though I count the employment more fit for some Scavenger or *Gregory*, then my selfe, yet that the City may no longer worship a Calfe (set up since the demolishing of *Cheapside-crosse*) and that the Abettors of such horrible empty Libells, may see that Railing is not safe witt. I shall for once

undertake him. And because I have as little skill in Iudiciall Astrology as *Booker*, I have calculated his Nativity, and find the *Moon* (not *Mercury*) Lord of the Ascendent. This makes the poor mans cold, thin, waterish Braine so subject to ebbs and flowes, which enelines him to *Moon-fits*, and *Lunacy*. This makes him to rave and snap, to foam at Mouth, and drivell like a mad dogge. And therefore because I have some skill in Medicines (though I cannot cure the *Lowsy disease*) I shall venture to cure his biting with a piece of his own Liver. But because he admires his own language (having a very *Unhappy Wit*) he shall receive his answer in That, the Persons and Scene only altered for my little Wit-cracker.

Mutato nomine de Te Fabula.

You see I have gathered some scraps of Latin since I came to the Univerſity; if it please the City, they may petition that the Synod may be sent hither to learne some also. And now *rumpantur ut ilia Codro*, here enters Mr *Rhombus Britannicus*, chiefe Pedagogue to all the Puiſney Newes-mongers, from the A.B.C. three daies Informer, to the Lyar of the first forme, the *Scottish Dove*, his face of late more plump and ruddy ſince imployment, but his haire ſomewhat ſhorter, his ſkull (or place where his Braines ſhould be) covered with halfe a dozen Night-caps; to keepe it from adling this *Winter* (how now man? if Sir *John* left *Winter* at *Gloceſter*, who has left it at *London*, there is a true Ieſt now, but juſt of thy ſtraine.) Over this a long crown'd Hat (the laſt Legacy of a Lay elder of *Amſterdam*) a *Geneva* band, Dublet and Hoſe, out of the *Wardrobe* for *Ireland*, which by a miſtake and contrary winde, was ſince carried into *New England*; his Gowne well lined Checquee, with *Fox* and *Seale* ſkin, and if after you have heard his Tale, and *Aquaticus's* Answer, you find no wit in either, then laugh at *Britannicus* that is ſuch a dull piece to work on. See here he comes, juſt as he came from *London*.



Mercurius

*Mercurius Britannicus :*Communicating the affairs of Great
B R I T A I N E :

For the better information of the people.

From *Thursday* the 7. of *Decem.* to *Thursday* the 14. *Decemb.* 1643.

THough I thought it beneath my pen to dip into the lies, and follies, and Calumnies of such an *Oxford Pamphlet*, yet because I was informed it was not the Act of one, but many: viz. *Dekenhead* the Scribe, Secretary *Nicholas* the Informer, *George Digby* the contriver, and an *assessment* of Wits is laid upon every *Colledge*, and paid weekly for the continuation of this thing called *Mercurius Aulicus*, upon these considerations, and to vindicate the Honour of a Parliament, I tooke my pen, I have discovered the *Lies, forgeries, insolencies, impieties, prophanations, blasphemies, Popery* of the two sheets, and now I have done; and you most excellent *Senators*, that you may see how justly I replied, and how unjustly ye are calumniated, I have summed up his last abused printed at *Oxford*, formerly an Univerſity, now a Garrison of Popery, His Majesties own Royall Court for the recreation of their Nobility, and Gentry, and Clergy, and other Liege People.

§. 1.
The ingredients whereof *Mercurius Aulicus* is composed.

A Catalogue of the Abuses, Reproaches, and Calumnies; against this present Parliament, this last week in the first sheet.

§. 2.
A Catalogue, &c.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Rebels at Westminster. | 14. Rebels. |
| 2. Pretended houses. | 15. Rebels. |
| 3. East-Indian Legislators. | 16. Rebels in England. |
| 4. Turkes. | 17. Brownists. |
| 5. Pretended Houses. | 18. Anabaptists. |
| 6. Pretended Houses. | 19. An Order of the House to the eternall shame of the Rebels at Westminster. |
| 7. A groundlesse horrid Rebellion. | 20. Pretended House of Commons. |
| 8. The Frauds and Pretences of the Rebels at Westminster. | 21. Pretended Houses. |
| 9. Their bloody League at London. | 22. The pretended two Houses. |
| 10. Forswearers of all peace. | 23. The Faction. |
| 11. Faction. | 24. The Rebels at Westminster. |
| 12. Rebels. | 25. Faction and Pretended Houses. |
| 13. Rebels. | |

A 3

Reader,

§. 3.

Reader this is a just account of the first sheet of that idle, scurrilous, ridiculous, treasonable, insolent Pamphlet, do you thinke this is written in *defence* of the privileges of Parliament? Are not here a reasonable company of *abuses* to be in the *Preamble* of the Pamphlet? What will these act abroad amongst a *credulous* and *seduced* people, especially so religiously, and devoutly begun upon *Sundays*, but I cannot stirre till I Petition his Majestie.

The Humble Petition of *Britanicum* to his Majestie.

§. 4.
Britanicus
Petition to
the King.

May it please your Majestie, after so much bloodshed of your owne Subjects, after so many plunderings by your Royall Nephewes, be pleased to remember your Declarations and Protestations of your care and respect to your two Houses, that they should be as dear to you, as your honour and children, be pleased to remember you called them your Parliament in your late Treaty, and now there is a Pamphlet, a thing, a pave of sheets, a Mercurius Aulicus, abuses, vails, miscalls your Majesties Supream Court, and your Majestie too, in your politicall capacity: I beseech your Majesty if these Declarations or Protestations were of your Majesties own making, remember them and your Royall obligations, if not,

Your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

§. 5.
Small hopes
to obtaine his
Petition, and
the reason.

This is my Petition to his Majesty, but there are so many *evil Counsellors* about him, I despaire of prevailing, when his *great Councell* the Parliament cannot be heard; nay now when *Davis* the Barbar is turnd *privy Counsellor* too, I never look to see his Majestie trimmed hereafter for the *Protestant Religion*, for I am informed that fellow shaves with *Popish Razors*, and cuts with *Consecrated Sissars*, and washes in *holy water*, there are diverse bottles come lately to the Court sent from his holiness own Barbour.

§. 6.
The power
that is given
to the East-
Indian Mer-
chants.

Aulicus tells us, that the Parliament hath given power to the *East-Indian Merchants* to impose new Laws; *Aulicus*, is not this a more precious Act to keep up Trading, then to plunder it, and to give power for Laws, then to take away all power and Laws too, as your Party, in all places they come, do; nor do they give power to them to impose Laws, but to contrive and suggest, as no Councell, nor estate in the world but will take hints at Inferiours, especially those that are *scientificall* and *knowing men*; but I must tell you, that the Merchants, though they trade in *East India*, yet their Factors say that the *Indians* are better to trade with, and converse with, then your *woodbeards*, and have lesse Barbarisme and inhumanity.

§. 7.
Assembly to
write to For-
raign States.

He tells us of the Parliament that hath ordered the *Assembly* to write Letters to stirre up the *Netherlands*, and other parts in the Cause: *Aulicus* it is time I thinke had they not need to write to *Foraigne States*, and all the *Reformed Churches*, when you at *Oxford* have sent your *Mendicant Epistles* to the *Pope* and *Cardinalls*, and are at this time electing *Dollar Cousins* that *Arab-flamen* to go a pilgrimage to the *Monasteries* and *Priories*, and *Popish States* for their assistance and *Contributions*, you have sent old *Goring* the *Publican* into *Holland*

land, and so to France, he is excellent at an Ambassage of Monopolizing, and a very worthy Patriot at a Project of Soape or Salt-pecter.

Hetels us of the Lord of *Ormonds* Warrants for transporting the Regiment: Reader this is *Ormond* the Apostate, who was hired from the Parliament and Protestant Cause with the title of a *Marquesse*, this is he that fought very well, till he got his Jewell, and for the other Diamond the Parliament might have bought him againe.

He tells us of the oath that *Ormond* administers to all that comes over; for you must know that is the old *pollicie* still, to swear them for the Protestant Religion; and it is resolved on at the Cabinet or *Junto* in the Queens Closet, that *Papery* be not named yet, till the Protestants be a little more cut of their wits, which they hope will be soon effected by *companying together*, and having Churches together, and by bringing the Masse and the Common-prayer a little better acquainted, but the oath begins.

I. A.B. *resting fully assured; viz.* (that his Majestie will ruine his Kingdome of Ireland and England with running these excuses) *I will defend the true Protestant Religion established in the Church of England, viz.* (in York Minster, or Saint Maries in Oxford, or any such reformed Cathedral:) *against all the Forces now under the conduct of the Earle of Essex: viz.* (because they fight for the Protestant Religion, and Laws, and Liberties:) *and I will do my utmost to procure the Peace and quietnesse of the Kingdome of England: viz.* (by lobbing, fighting, pillaging, and plundering, killing, and destroying.)

He tells us of a *Victory* they had upon us at *Stafford*: and Reader, it was thus: they had two Troopes to charge us, and we took the most of them: and yet *Aulicus* has the conceit they had the day, and we their men and horses; I know not how to distinguish upon dayes and victories, but I think it is not usuall to conquer, and be routed both at a time, but this is not the first victory rics, they have given thanks for, witness *Edgehill* and *Newbury*, two places in which they were soundly beaten into a day of thanksgiving.

He tells us of Sir *William Brereton*s Letter to the Irish Commanders to leave fighting, and expounds every line of it as he did a Chapter in the *Apocrypha*, where he took his Text it seems last Sunday in the forenoon, and expounded Sir *William Brereton*s Epistle in the afternoone, and so he divided the Sabbath.

He tells us of the Letter which the Irish Commanders returned to Sir *Williams*.

Gentlemen we were not engaged to the service of Ireland otherwise then by the Kings Commission: no, did you fight neither for God, nor your Country: the service we have done; in leaving the Kingdome of Ireland to the mercilesse bloody Rebels, and making a base, dishonourable, and irreligious Peace: every is selfe dares not extenuate, why do you threaten her? it is pity such deserving Gentlemen were not landed in a richer Territory then Wales: and though we are very sensible, of the good plunder in England, and of every thing but *Papery*: how worthily we have carried our selves, in coming over & from fighting against

§. 8.

Lord Ormonds
VVarrants.

§. 9.

Ormonds oath
to them that
come over.

§. 10.

The oath.

§. 11.

One of Auli-
cus his victo-

§. 12.

Sir VVilliam
Brereton
Letter.

§. 13.

The Answer
to Sir VVilliam
ams Letter.

against the Papists in Ireland, to fight for them in England: by your pretended Parliament, a very old title; *Aulicus* taught you it yet we are not returned hither without his Majesties speciall Commission: we are more sorry to heare his Majesty hath such a hand in it, you doe well to confesse the truth: If you have the like Commission from the King: no, we should be sorry we had, nor could we ever get so near him for evill Counsellors, that have stood in the way: we shall Treat with you: you are good at Treating, you came lately from a bloody pacification in Ireland, and the drops of so much innocent bloud sticks upon your cloathes yet, otherwise you must give us leave: What to doe, to murder his Majesties Subjects, to bring in Popery and Prophinensie: to carry our selves like Souldiers and Loyall Subjects, in killing and plundering

*Michael Earnele, Francis Butler.
Richard Gibson, Edward Hamond,
George Wynn.*

These are the names, if any man can charge them with more then I have done.

§. 14.

Aulicus, if I say no more to thee at this time, thank the Funeralls of Master Pym.

The Intelligence.

§. 15.
Glocester
newes.

I Shall begin at *Glocester* with news, that very place where Colonell *Massey* defended against the whole Army, against all their shot, and oathes, and execrations, that very place where his Excellency arrived with no lesse honour then he returned, it being yet a question, whether of his Lawrels were the best, that of *Glocester*, or that of *Newbury*: Not farre from this City, at *Newnam*, Colonell Sir *Iohn Winter* would needs set up a new Government, and had some Forces from the Lord *Herbert*, as many as he could well spare, to be beaten at one time; but Colonell *Massey*, I meane that same Colonell that was attended by his Majesties Army so long, went with a Parry from his Garrison, and dissolved Sir *Iohn Winters* Government, and dis-garrisoned his Army Royal, and his plundered cattell, so as they all run away, crying all was lost, after Sir *Iohns* owne example: but I conjecture the cause was, for that Colonell *Winter* was of too cold a constitution for Colonell *Masseys* hot Alarme: but that which is strangest in that defeat, Sir *Iohn* run away, and yet left *Winter* behinde him.

I should tel you more Intelligence, but I am not able at this time to write beyond Master Pym, and this *Elegie* I shal sacrifice to his Hearse.

An

An *Elegie* on Master Pym.

NO immature or sullen Fate
 Did his immortall soul translate,
 He passed gravely hence even
 Kept the old pace, from *earth* to *heaven*;
 He had a *soule* did alwaies stand
 Open for *businesse*, like his *hand*,
 He took in so much, I could call
Him more then individuall,
 And so much *businesse* waited by,
 Would scarcely give *him* leave to *dye*;
 He knew the *bounds*, and every thing
 Betwixt the people and the *King*;
 He could the just *Proportions* draw
 Betwixt *Prerogative* and *Law*;
 He liv'd a *Patriot* here so late,
 He knew each syllable of *State*,
 That had our *Charters* all been gone,
 In *him* we had them every one;
 He durst be *good*, and at that time
 When *innocence* was halfe a *crime*;
 He had seen death before he went,
 Once had it as a *token* sent:
 He surfeted on *State affaires*,
 Di'd on a *Plurisie* of *cares*,
 Nor doth he now his *mourners* lacke,
 We have few *soules* but go in black,

B

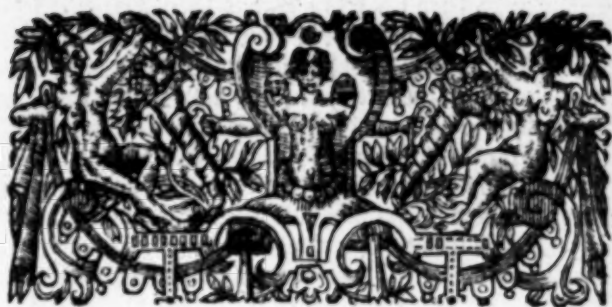
And

And for his sake have nowv put on
A *solemne* Meditation.

Teares are too narrowv drops for him,
And *private* sighes, too *strais* for Pym;
None can compleatly Pym lament,
But *something* like a *Parliament*,
The *publike* sorrow of a State,
Is but a griefe *commensurate*,
We must *enacted* *passions* have,
And *Lawes* for vveeping at his grave.



Printed according to Order, for
G. B. and R. W.



Mercurius Aquaticus his Answer to BRITANICUS.

T
§. 1.
 HOWEVER I thought it beneath my penne
 to dip into the lies, follies, and Calumnies
 of such a foolish London pamphlet, yet be-
 cause I was informed, it was not the Act of
 one but many, which for a while made mee
 think this monster-piece of vanitie was the
 abortive issue of Mr *Salmarsh* the Scribe, 'till I remembered
 he had spent more then all his own Wit upon his *Epigram-
 mata sacra*: the *Close-Committy* the Informer, till I considered
 that it stood not with the Policy of their State, that they should
 informe any but the Close-Committee of the Common-coun-
 cell, that should inform Captain *Ven*, that should inform the
 Prentises and Butchers when 'twas fit to make a tumult at *White-
 hall*, and the Brownists when at *Westminster*, and also the Woe-
 men and Schoole-boyes to petition against Popery & evill Coun-
 sellors; *Tom May* the Contriver and chiefe Engineer, but that
 I thought he was better at Translation then Invention) and e-
 specially because I heard an assesment of *Wit* was laid upon
 the Synod, and every Lecturer, and private conventicler, from
 Mr *Marshall* at *Margarets to Green* the Feltmaker in the Tub,
 and paid weekly for the continuation of this thing called *Mer-
 curius Britanicus*, upon these considerations, and not to vindicate
 Aulicus, (who is only unhappy in that he must weekly write to
their

their capacity who have no more Brains then *Britanicus*) I resolved to take my Pen, & discover the Fooleries, Lies, Forgeries, Insolencies, Impieties, Prophanations, Blasphemies, Brownism, Anabaptism of the one sheet; and now I have done, and you most worthy Patriots and Noble Cavaliers, whose valour and loyalty are the constant themes of *Aulicus*, that you may see how justly I reply, and how unjustly you and *Aulicus* are calumniated, I have summed *Britanicus* last weekes abuses, printed at London (formerly a scene of Loyalty, and never tainted till now 'twas betraid into a Garrison of Brownists and tame Citizens, that are their own Masters and their own Slaves) wherein once stood His Majesties Royall Palace, alwaies open for the free admission of all Petitioners, and His Great Councell of Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, and a safe harbour for His Liege People, till tumults of Coblers and Prentises, prodigious Covenants, and unheard of Taxes for the propagation of Rebellion, forced all Honest men thence.

§. 2.

A catalogue of the abuses, reproaches, calumnies, traitereous and Rebellious speeches against His sacred Majesty, the Nobility, Gentry, and other Liege People this last week, by which 'tis evident the Authors (for they stile themselves your Petitioners, pa. 122) are rather a *Junto of Belins-gate Oyster wives*, (whose daughters write Short hand, and frequent M. *Calamy*, *Cafe*, *Peeters*, to furnish out the rayling Conventicle with sanctified Blasphemies, Treasons, Forgeries, hot from the Pulpit) then any that favoured of the ingenuity and education of a Scholar, or a Souldier.

1. Secretary *Nicholas* the Informer, *George Digby* contriver of the *Lyes*, *Follies*, and *Calumnies* of an *Driford Pamphlet*.
2. *Lyes*, *forgeries*, *insolencies*, *impieties*, *prophanations*, *blasphemies* of the two sheets.
3. *Driford* formerly a University now a Garrison of Poverty.
4. Idle, Scurrilous, ridiculous, treasonable, insolent Pamphlet.
5. Credulous and seduced People to belive *Aulicus*.

6. * Your Majesties so much bloodshed of your own Subjects.
7. So many Blunderings by Your Royall Speeches.
8. If your Declarations and Protestations were of your Majesties own making,
9. Councillors about His Majesty.
10. His Majesty not trim'd for the Protestant Religion.
11. Trim'd with Popish Rasors, consecrated sissars, and holy water.
12. Diverse bottles of it sent to Court from his holiness own Barber.
13. Indians have lesse Barbarisme and inhumanity then his Majesties best Subjects.
14. Mendicant epistles sent to the Pope and Cardinalls.
15. Doctor Collins the Arch flamin sent to Popish States for assistance.
16. Cozing the Publican excellent at monopolizing, a Projector.
17. Diamond the Apostate.

* If the Parliament are offended at any thing in *Aquaticus*, let them consider what tis to suffer such treasonable blaspheemies against the Lords Appointed to be printed according to Order.

A catalogue of other notable Passage.

1. Truths, God bleesse us.

Tis high time for the Parliament, and they had never more need to write for helpe to forraigne States.

2. Politique Aphorismes.

No Councill nor estate in the World but will take hints at inferiours, especially those that are scientificall and knowing men.

3. Politique discourses.

As that of the East India Merchants, farre beyond Sir Pol. Onions, and Tar. Paulin.

4. Subtill distinctions.

Of His Majesties Royall Person from his politicall capacity, which favours of the subtill Logick of Goodwin the Socinian, creature to my Lord Say.

5. Grosse forgeries beyond that of the Danish fleet, and the mens Training under ground.

As the intelligence from Gloucester.

6. Imitations of *Anlicu*.

As the descanting and Paraphrase on the *Irish Oath*, and the *Commanders letter*.

7. Jests, halfe-jests, Puns, clinches, and Quibbles.

I dare throw *Winter* or *Summer* with you that there's none of these in the whole book.

8. Downeright Popery.

The Canonization of Mr. *Pym* before his going into *Purgatory*, and sacrificing at his hearse.

9. Good Popery.

As *Mr. Pym's Elegy*.

To which add three tales of a Tub, or three blew beanes in a bladder, and you have the ingredients of the last weeks *Britannicus*.

§. 3.

And Reader this is the just account of the one that, of that idle, scurrilous, treasonable, insolent Pamphlet, doe you think this was written to procure the peace of the Kingdome in defence of His Majesties Honour and Prerogative, and to make Him the gloriousst Prince in Christendome. Are not here a treasonable company of abuses, and in the substance of the Pamphlet? What will these act at home amongst a credulous and seduced people, especially so Religiously Lectured and Trained to Rebellion upon Sundays? But I cannot stirre till I petition the New Assembly.

§. 4.

Aquaticus
Ii. Petition
to the New-
Assembly.

The humble Petition of *Aquaticus* to A New Assembly, prophetically Anagrammatized and called at their Anabaptisme in the River of *Bowe*

MANY BLEW ASSES.

MAy it please you, Religions, learned, and reverend Men, fathers, and brethren (I cry your fatherhoods mercy, if I miscall you, I had the title from *Fr. Cheynells discovery*, one of the mad Fathers of your fraternity) after so long sitting to no purpose; So many Sermons and discourses writ in defence of this present Rebellion, after so many encouragements of the Brownists in all their wild plunderings, after so long listening to the prayers and prayers, and sighes and prayers, and prayers and Sermons

Sermons of the Lady *Waller*, against the finall falling away of her Knight, be pleased to remember your so often taken oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, not to be dispensed with all even by Pope *Calamy* and pope *Burges*, and be sure to take into your misunderstanding the established protestant Religion, and because you intend to alter the Articles of the Church of *England*, be sure first you send to your Deacon, Sir *Harry Vaine* the younger, to treat with the Reformed Churches, that this may be done, the *Harmony of confessions* notwithstanding. And because you intend to banish the Common prayer Book out of *England*, because 'tis popishly affected, you were best also silence the use of the *Lords prayer*, for the same reason, because 'tis found in the *Mass-book* and *Ladies Psalter*, besides 'tis a set forme of prayer, and therefore a stinter of the spirit; and besides you and your disciples are resolved never to *forget trespasses, nor remember benefits*. And since you are upon the correcting the *Creed*, for the cause sake which might be much prejudiced by the Opinion that there's a *Hell*, let the article of *Christs descent* for the word *Hell's* sake be strook out. Furthermore (because the *Iesuits* make great use of your Schismes and Factions, saying, that you have more Factions, then Conventicles, more Religions then men) be pleased in the next place to undertake the reconciliation of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, the *Sabbatarians* and *Covenanters*, with the *Antinomians* and *Libertines*, the rigid *Calvinists* with the *Socinians*, the *protestation* and *Covenant* with the oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, and last of all your selves with your selves, a work of very easy Taske, especially when the *Houses* shall recover their power from the *Common-councell*. Furthermore, I beseech you justify your selves from the scandall of the *Papists*, who say, our Religion is but meerly *Parliamentary*, and subject to translation, for some politick turne, every third yeare, and for proof, they urge the *Lay Elders* of the *House of Commons*, a ruling part of your Conventicle, and that you dare not think of any Religion, but what they shall dictate to you. Next I desire you to neglect the true stating of the question of Monerchy, and to consider whether this *everlasting Parliament* may not be rather proved to be *jure divino*, from the example of the *Jewish* * *Sanhedrim*, then this present Rebellion justified by the example of *David*;

David; and that you would also furnish the Brethren, and the rest of the *Philistim-writers* against *Dr Fearn* with better arguments and answers, or else wholly to suppress them (for this is the Jesuites policy, whose foot-steps you follow, though you goe backwards) lest the people reading the Doctors arguments, though mangled and abused in their Pamphlets, should at last be undeceived. Lastly, I desire you to state the question affirmatively, that the same person may be a Clergy-man and Lay-man at the same time, because otherwise me thinkes *Mr Marshall* and *Mr Nye*, could not be admitted of the *Cloſe Committee*, nor employed in *Embassage* to *Farraine States*, because a late act this *Parliament*, forbids Clergy men to intermeddle in secular affaires, and if they were Lay-men only, me thinks your grave Fatherhoods would exclude them the pulpit at *Margarets*.

And because you are never like to find *Scripture* or *Reason* or *Fathers* to perswade your Religion, I beseech you to consider of setting the *Inquisition* up in *London*, which is already made feasible by the mercifull dealing of the *Committee for Religion*. *Mr Burton* is able to justify it from *Scripture*, and *Mr Prinne* will establish it by *Law*, and *Mr St Johns* shew a *President* for it, out of the *Records in Lowlards Tower*. And because you are not to determine any thing, but what is resolved at the *Cloſe Committee*, and they at this present have more weighty affaires to consider of then Religion, be pleased at this your leasure (because you have little else to doe, and you must not go forward with the notes upon the Bible) to write a weekly comment upon *Britannicus*, that men may the better understand his hidden wit, or else instead of confuting the *Jesuits*, pray undertake in his behalf the confutation of *Aquaticus*.

And because studying and long prayers, especially disputations in *Mood* and *figure*, will extreemly waſt your spirits, and hasten your death, to the eternall losse of *ignorance and Faction*, the parents of this zealous Rebellion, be pleased to take a Dose of this *Cordiall Fasting*. It will preserve your braine and lungs, and keep you from the danger of the *Plague plaister*, or the infection of an Answer from *Oxford* to your grave determinations. Pray send the Bill to *Mr Pym*s Apothecary, who will very carefully compound it.

R. Of Sir *Harry Vanes* Memory.
 Of *Hollands* gratitude.
 Of *Martines* Continence.
 Of *Walters* Valour.
 Of the *Cloſe Commiſſtees* honeſty.

2 graines. ana.

One good look from Mr *Perd*.

Two arguments at Law of *Sergeant Wilds* owne making.

Two ounces of the ſhavings of his *Excellencies* Hornes, and an ounce and halfe of the fat of his black Calfe at *Chartley*.

1 Scruple of conſcience of Mr *Marſhall*.

1 Headfull of jealousies of *Say and Seale*.

1 Heartfull of feares of *Nath: Fiennes*.

1 Pound of the City ſlavery, and halfe a dram of your owne Divinity and Logick, ana:

3 Gallons of Orphans and Widdowes teares.

Boyle all theſe the length of a Faſt Sermon at *Margarets* in *Balno*, cloſe ſtop'd with a paſt made of *Pembrookes* diſcretion. Your firing by no meanes muſt be of *New caſtle Coale*, ('twill ſend all up in *Fumo*) but of Char-cole made out of the *Parliaments* owne ~~woods~~ *woods* in their politick capacity. Let it be conſtantly blowed with the curſes of the *Excife*. And if any one beleeveth the *Apoſtacy* of the *Saints*, and therefore doubts his owne ſtanding to the Cauſe, you may infuſe three drams of Dr *Burges* his falling from the ſence, and alſo grace of the *Houſe* till his late ſubmiſſion. You may take a ſpoonfull of it *Faſting*, to the enflaming of your zeale, as well as the preſerving of your health, which I beſeech your grave Fatherhoods to have eſpeciall care of, and

Your Petitioner ſhall ever pray, &c.

This is my petition to the Synod, (a little longer I confeſſe then *Britanicus* his, but his was made for the Court, and mine for the *Round-heads*, who love all long, but their haire, eſpecially long eares, that may have wherewithall to ſuffer Martyrdome,

C

long

8. 5.

Small hopes to obtaine his Petition, and the reaſon.

long meales, long graces to help digestion, but there are so many of the Committee for Religion, that watch over them, that I despair of prebailing, when the great serviceable Rabble of the *Antinomians* cannot be heard; nay, now when Sir Benjamin Rudyard is turn'd Assembly man too, I never look to see our Church trimmed according to the ancient Primitive Form of Doctrine and discipline, which is the same with the Protestant Religion here established. For I am inform'd that Gentleman shaves Parsons Tithes with Brownistickall razors, and cuts Episcopacy with sanctified-presbyterian scissors, and washes in holy water of the lake *Lemmannus*. There are divers bottles come lately to the new Assembly, and more are dayly expected from the Close Committees own Harbour, for the shaving from the face of the Church those superfluous excrements of Cathedrall Lands; height Monsieur *Salmasius*, if the Schollers spell his name right.

§. 6.

The power
that is given to
Marshall and
Nye.

Aquaticus tells you, that the Parliament did give power to *Marshall*, and *Nye*, to contract with the Scots by new Covenants for the ruine of the English Nation, if God prevent not. For shal we think the Scots are such fools, if they conquer, to return back againe to their Whig and Scotch porridge, Frost and snow (and little wood) from good featherbeds, gallant houses, English beef, ale, and broad-cloth? No, *Britannicus*, if that day once come, the Brotherhood shall find their Brethren of Scotland will be the *Elders*, and carry away the Land. And is not this a more treasonable Act to destroy Trading, advance Plundering, and ruine the whole Nation, only to secure the five Members (which yet you see cannot escape Gods vengeance) from a legall tryall, rather then that of furthering an honest modest petition for peace? Is not this to give power for licence, and to take away all power and Lawes too, as your party in all places where they come doe; For did they only give power to them to impose new Covenants to another Nation, but to contrive and suggest them, as no Council nor Estate in the world ever did to such contemptible insensious, especially to those that are so little scientificall & knowing men. But I must tell my Merchants of London, though they so greedily trade into Scotland for the present, whattsoever their State.

State-factors and Lecturers tell them, the Cavaliers are farre better to trade with and converse with then your Round heads, and have a thousand times lesse barbarisme and inhumanity. But they will belevee this too lat.

He tells you of the Parliament that hath ordered the Assembly, that have ordered their Deacon, Sir Harry Fans to carry Letters to Zurich, and to stirre up the Netherlands and other parts, that in case the Synod should be dissolved they may have a place assigned them to sit in safety, to determine of rules that shall never guide the Brownists and Anabaptists two dayes together. And it seems 'tis high time; when they have sent their Sordid Epistles (by their two Legats a Latere) to the Family of Love, their Brethren in Scotland, when old Fines the Publican who hath sate so long at the Receipt of Customs (so excellent at the contriving and managing a Rebellion, as also at an Ambassage of more contribution to the common Councell, and a very worthy Patriot at a Project of Publick Faith, Land in Ireland, Newcastle Coles and Excise) now begins as much to despaire of the successe of the Cause, as of freeing Nath: Fiennes, or getting Goodwin, that Arch-Socinian to be admitted into the New Assembly,

He tells you of Leslyes Warrants for transporting his fellow Rebels: Reader this is Lesly the same man still, who though he were honoured by His Majesty with the title of an Earle, most unlike a Souldier and a Gentleman basely and ingratelously drawes his sword against his Prince, to whom he was so obliged for his favour, and Pardon.

He tells you of the Covenant Lesly administers to all that come over: so you must know it was the old policy still to swear them for the Protestant Religion; and it was long since resolved on at the Cabinet or Junta in Sir Gilbert Gerards Parlour at Harroworth Hill, that Brownisme be not named yet, till the Protestants be a little more out of their wits, by comping together and having Conventicles together, (where the Candle sometimes most unfortunately is put out,) and by bringing extemporary nonsense and Blasphemy in fashion, to the dishonour of all

§. 7.

§. 8.

Lord Leslyes
Warrants.

§. 9.

Leslyes Covenant to them
that come in
to England.

Religion, and the contempt of *Common-Prayer*, but the Covenant begins.

§. 10.
The Cove-
nant.

I (Ananias Bodkin) resting fully assured that His Majesty labours to preserve His two Kingdoms of England and Ireland from ruine, by lawfull and just courses) will endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion established in the Church of England, (to set up a new nothing not yet hatched at the Close Committee, nor yet thought of by the assembly, or any Reformed Lecturer) against all the forces now raised by Commission from his Majesty (because they fight for the true Protestant Religion Lawes and Liberties) and I will doe my utmost to destroy the Peace and quietnesse of this Kingdome of England, by robbing, firing, pillaging, plundering, killing and destroying.

§. 11.

Aquaticus confesses a great Victory Sir William Waller had upon us at *Basing house*, whence he carried no lesse then forty or fifty carts of our Wounded prisoners in Triumph, and no lesse then foure or five hundred more dead. which made the Trained Bands so willing to returne home, that they might proclaim the cowardise of the Cavaliers, and the Valour of Sir William with weeping eyes to their Wives and Children. And yet *Aulicus* conceits that they had the day, though you carried home the men in Carts. I know not how to distinguish upon daies and Victories, but I think it is not usuall to conquer and be routed both at a time, but this is not the first Victory they have given thanks for, witnesse *Edge-hill*, *Brauneford*, and *Newbury*, three places in which they were soundly beaten into a day of Thanksgiving.

§. 12.
Sir William
Brevintons
Letter.

He tells you of wise Sir William Brevintons Letter to the Irish Commanders to leave fighting, and expounded it as seriously as the Assembly will doe the Covenant, or M. Marshall did this piece of Scripture, *The good man is perished out of the earth*, at the *hiding of Iohn Pym*, where he did not as he ought, divide the Canonickall Scripture from the *Apocrypha*, but tyed the Text and Sermon both together, which was no *Sabbaths* exercise to the Auditors patience.

He

He tells you of the Letters which the Irish commanders returned to Sir William, which because *Britanicus* hath printed according to Sir Williams Copy which he sent to the Parliament, and not according to that which was sent to Sir William, I shall forbear to trouble my selfe and the Reader, by making the man here eat his own words. This piece is so extreame dull and heavy, that 'tis a taske unfit for a Schooleboy to reply to. But you must pittie the mans heaviness, for alas he tells us, his Wit run all out at his eyes and nose, at the **funerall of M. Pym.**

§. 13.
Deest the answer of the Irish commanders.

And therefore Reader, if I trouble thee not with this piece of *Britanicus*, thank the **funeralls of M. Pym.** But yet I am sorry, I must tell you, the poore fellow had so good an excuse to be dull and heavy; and though I cannot make Elegies, yet I pittie poore John Pym, that he fell not by the hand of Justice, because more (saies the *Help to Discourse*, a book I commend to your carefull perusall) *goe to heaven from the Gallows then the Church-yard,* and now for our Intelligence a little truer then *Britanicus* his.

§. 14.

I shall begin at Gloucester with news, that very place whence his Excellency with his whole army run away with no lesse dishonour then he came thither with Feare, it being yet a question whether of his Lawrells were the best, that of Gloucester or that of Petowbury, or Edgehill, or Brainesford, or Oxford, where he was well Tamed (there's a Pun halfe a dram better then yours upon Sir John Winter.) Not farre from this City, yet without the distance of a Mile (for within that compasse through the mercilesse oppression and cruell plundering of the Rebels in the Towne, the inhabitants were forced to burne downe their own houses) are Quartered on one side 16. or 1800. old Irish Souldiers, on the other side the Loyall Welsh, and elsewhere the oppressed inhabitants of the County of Gloucester, who are all resolved to be revenged for the cruelty of that Rebellious City, which will put *Massej*, now a *Fallor for Rebellion*, there to his Familiar Epistles, and humble supplications to his Excellency before *Winsters* done. For Sir John is resolved to stay behind in despite of all **Passyes hot allarmes.**

§. 15.
Gloucester newes.

Reader this tale upon Sir John was framed at the *Staple of News,*

§. 16.

Newes, to bring in the Quibble of *Winter*, and so I leave my pretty *Wis-Harmophrodite* made up of Orator and Poet, to sacrifice his Elegy at the Hearse of John Pym. But Sir before you go to your devotions, you must tell me whether he was Canonized by the *New Assembly* (for some doubt whether a *Synod* has that power) or *Pope Marshall*. And I shall tell you in requitall that you must sacrifice no lame things, and shall therefore advise you to send your third Verse,

He passed gravely hence, when
to M. John Sedgewicke, the number of whose fingers will make it commensurate. And so having cost my Reader halfe an hower, and my selfe an afternoone (my little City Poet) I leave you as I found you, fit only to write

Verses on the Death of

Mr P Y M.



P I N I S.

The Archbishop of Cantuaries motion.

Sir Alexander Densons house taken.

The last intelligence from Oxford.

The Parliament entertained at Merchants Hall.



KOP
Lichon

Mercurius Civicus.
LONDON
INTELLIGENCER:

OR,

Truth impartially related from
thence to the whole Kingdome,
to prevent mis-information.

From Thursday January 11. to Thursday January 18. 1643.



On Tuesday last the sixteenth of this instant January in the afternoone, according to the late order of both Houses of Parliament, the Archbishop of Cantuaries was brought from the Tower of London by a company of the guard belonging therunto, and was conducted into the house of Peers by Alderman

Pennington Lieutenant of the Tower; whither he being come, and

(L 1)

standing

standing at a Birre which was set up for that purpose, his C^{ounsell}, viz. Master *Chute* and Master *Horne*, then also present with him, the Articles and Charge of high Treason, and other misdemeanours were read in the presence of the House of Peers, and of a Committee of the House of Commons: After which the Archbishop himselfe made a motion unto the Lords, desiring, That in regard there were severall particulars in his charge, he might have a longer time assigned unto him to bring in his Answer; further alleadging, that he was informed by a Messenger, which (as he said) came to him, and told him that he was not to bring his answer with him at that time; whereupon the Lord *Gray of Warke* (Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*) asked him, who that Messenger was; to which his little Grace replied, *That he knew not the Messenger that brought him that word; but as he lived he had such a message brought him.* But for the more cleare confutation of these his evasions, the order of Parliament was read, whereby he was injoynd peremptorily to bring in his Answer on the said Tuesday; to which the Bishop also replied, He knew not of it. Whereupon the House of Peers, after some debate among themselves concerning his motion (the said Archbishop, and all others, being withdrawne according to command) for divers weighty reasons, as also to manifest the great desire they have to proceed fairly and equally against any man whatsoever, they did for the present order, That he should have further time granted him to bring answer unto his Articles, on Monday next January 22. so that without doubt the generall expectation of the well-affectd in both kingdoms, concerning the punishment of this notorious Delinquent and prime Incendiary and contriver of the late disturbances both in Church and State, will very shortly bee satisfied, and he shall receive just and condigne punishment, according to his notorious offences, grievous crimes, and hainous demerits. For the Articles and Charge of high Treason against him, I shall not at all mention them, for that very shortly there will be a perfect and exact Copy of them published in print.

From *Oxford* we have had many confident reports this weeke, that the discontents, divisions, and dissensions of the Cavaliers there are exceedingly heightned, not onely betweene the French and Spanish faction, but betweene the rest; insomuch that Prince *Rupert*, and the new made Lord *Jermin* Earle of *Tarmouth*, falling out at first in words,

word, they fell afterwards to blowes, and have challenged each other the field; but how the businesse will be made up betwene these two great Favourites it is not knowne; some say (though I will not with confidence affirme it) that Prince *Rupert* hath laid downe his Commission. Duke *Hamilton* still continues confined to a Bakers house in *Oxford*. For the Archbishop of *Armagh*, he is also of late much out of favour there (especially amongst the Irish and more Jesuiticall party) by reason that in a late Sermon he declared his dislike of the bringing over the Forces out of *Ireland*. And it is thought that many of their moderate party are now upon the Turn, and could with themselves under the Parliaments protection, might they finde entertainment. VVhich wee may the rather beleieve, for that Dr. *T. C.* (who made the noted malignant Sermon at *Pauls* on Sunday October 10. 1641.) being convinced in his Conscience of the illegitt and cruell designs of the Cavaliers, and of the justnesse and lawfulness of the Parliaments proceedings, hee hath deserted *Oxford* and is come to *London*, where he will shortly give a more manifest testimony of his sincere intentions to adhere to the Parliament. Hereby also the mercifull providence of God may be seene, in that he is pleased not only to frustrate the machiavilian designs of the enemy, who thought to sowe sedition and division in the City of *London*, hath also brought the mischiefes they imagined to others, upon their owne heads.

Also by severall Letters from *Gilford* in *Surry*, dated Munday Janu. 15. it was advertised, that the *London* Trained-bands and Auxiliaries which lately went forth under the command of Serjeant major *Browne* did then stay at *Gilford*, by occasion that the great store of Snow which fell the night before and on that day hindered their march, yet it is not to be doubted, but that before the end of this weeke they will be at *Arundel* and ready to assist Sir *W. Waller* in any enterprise he shall take in hand.

On Munday last an Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament was published concerning the Excise of fresh Victuals and Salt, whereby it is ordained: That all forraigne Salt imported or to be imported into the Kingdome of England, Dominion of Wales, and Towne of *Barwicke* shall pay one penny upon every *Gilon*; to be paid by the first buyer of such Salt.

That all Salt made within the Kingdomes of England and Scotland, and Dominion of Wales shall pay one halfe penny upon every Galon.

That all Beefes, Muttons, Veales, Porkes, Lambes, and other Butchers meat, to be killed for provision of Viſtuals shall pay one ſhillings in every twenty ſhillings value of the beaſt when it is living.

That all Conies or Rabbits shall pay one halfe penny a peece,

That all Pigeons shall pay after the rate of one penny for every dozen.

It is alſo thereby ordained, that all Butchers or others who doe kill and ſell any Beeſe, Veale, Mutton, Lambe, Porke, or any other Swines fleſh whatſoever, for the market or ſale, doe weekly give account to ſuch Office of Excife, under which their dwelling or other place of reſidence is; and at that ſame time pay the Excife before mentioned, upon forfeiture of double the value of all ſuch beaſts, and other Cartell, as by two witneſſes or other good prooſe ſhall be proved to have kild at any time after the 10 of January, 1643. for which no Excife hath been paid. And further, To be reſtrained, from the killing and ſelling of any fleſh Meate for one whole yeere after ſuch prooſe as aforeſaid. The like courſe is to be taken with and uſed by Poultry. The profits of the Excife raiſed by this Ordinance are to be diſpoſed of for the maintenance of the Navy, and it is to begin the tenth of this inſtant January, and ſo to continue in force till the end of one whole yeere next after the date thereof.

By ſeverall Letters this weeke from *Holland* we have intelligence that the Proteſtants in *Zealand* and *Holland* ate now ſetting forth of 40 Frigots to ſecure and ſafeguard the Seas from the *Dunkirkes* or any other Pirates or Sea-rovers whatſoever, and that divers of them are aboard already; ſome of which, as we are alſo informed, are thoſe that chaſed the *Dunkirke-ſhip* into *Arundel-haven*, which *Sir William Waller* doth as yet detain there, till he ſhall have direction from the Parliament for the diſpoſall of it.

On Munday and Tueſday laſt in the evening of both daies, divers of the Commanders, Officers and ſouldiers lately taken by *Sir W. Waller* at *Arundel-castle*, were brought to Towne and committed

into the Gate-house, and severall prisons in and about London.

The last weeke I gave you some discoveries of the late cunning plot against the Parliament and City of London, by endeavouring by a Machivillian policy to destroy both by working a division between them; the whole designe, with the severall Proclamations, Letters, examinations and speeches, at a common Hall the last weeke, are now by order of Parliament published in print: yet that the desperatenesse of the designe may be made more obvious, I shall briefly observe something concerning the examination of Sir Basil Brookes, which very pregnantly contains the effect of the whole designe.

Sir Basil Brookes in his last examination (amongst other things) consisteth as followeth:

That (after the designe was laid, as was discovered the last weeke, and the rough draught of His Majesties Letter to the City framed by Violet) one John Wood an Apprentice to a Merchant in the City was recommended by Read to this examinatur, as a fit man to be trusted to carry Letters between Oxford and this place, in this buisnesse. That Violet with the advice of Mr. Riley (as this examinatur beleeveeth) framed some Propositions, about 12 or 14 in number, which were brought to this examinatur by Violet, who intended the English of them; which Propositions were reduced afterwards to six by Violet, or Riley, or both; and afterwards was with the approbation of this examinatur. That this examinatur at the three Crowns in the Vine, did meet with Mr. Riley and Violet, to confer upon the said Propositions, and to consider of the probability of them to please the City and Parliament; which afterwards were carried to Oxford by the said Wood to Col. Read, who returned an answer, that he thought the King would approve of them upon a Treaty, which might be betwene the City and some Parliament-men joyned with them.

That the propositions formerly mentioned, this examinatur remembereth to be these, or to this effect.

1. That the City might be satisfied, that the King would settle the Protestant Religion, for without that neither the Parliament nor City would admit any treaty.

2. That the debts contracted upon the publique stock, on either side, by King or Parliament, should be satisfied; and the most likely way for the doing thereof, was to settle the Excise for that purpose.

3. That it was conceived in regard of the Kings Declaration, that the Parliament was no Parliament, and that therefore the King could not treat with them any more; this Treaty was to be immediately betwene the King and the City, and the City was to be the Medium betwene the King and Parliament.

4. That there must be an act of oblivion for all parties and delinquents whatsoever, and a generall pardon. That no cessation should be expected during the treaty, if there had been any. This no mention was made in all these propositions, either of Scotland or Ireland.

That this examinatur doth remember, that Alderman Gibbs, and Mr. Riley were thought as fit men to be sent to Oxford about the Treaty, in being persons inclined to the furtherance of peace. That this examinatur told this examinatur that it was wished from Oxford,

Oxford, that the said parties might be employed in this Treaty. That *Read* being to procure his release, first made a petition to the *M. litia* by the name of *John Read* Gent. to secure his quality as Colonell, under pretence that he was a private man and had children in great want; in which business the said *Read* made use of some Citizens to promote this petition. That *M. Riley* told the said *Read*, when his release was obtained, that he might perceive notwithstanding he might have been kindred from his enlargement, and therefore he wished him to labour to require this *Interdict*, by endeavouring a peace between the King and City, when he came to *Oxford*, which he said he would doe.

Basil Brooke.

The whole Designe, which appears by this examination, which above all other gives most light unto it, was briefly thus:

1. That this Treaty was to have beene immediately betweene the Parliament and City.
2. It would have beene no lesse then the utter destruction of this present Parliament, as is more apparent by the Lord *Digbys* Letter to Sir *H. Devick*, and the summoning of the great Councell or Parliament at *Oxford* by the Proclamation in the Kings name, dated at *Oxford* Decemb. 22. mentioned in the said Booke, which being but a paper in forme of a Proclamation, must have authority to abolish this Parliament settled by Act of Parliament; compared with the third proposition, The Parliament must bee waved, and the Treaty must be immediately betweene the King and the City, the consequence whereof had been no lesse then the rending of the Kingdome for ever, incapable of having any more Parliaments, notwithstanding this Parliament was made indissolveable by his Majesties owne consent, and so in stead of that Act of Oblivion mentioned in the fourth proposition, an Act might have beene made to have buried all Parliaments in Oblivion; and have done that by a treacherous peace, which all the Armies of Papists, Irish Rebels, Cavaliers, and Delinquents could not, nor are likely (through Gods mercy) yet to accomplish, though it is apparently known it is the maine designe they intend.
3. That this Designe was made so plausible, not onely under the specious name of *Peace*, but it must bee that which must answer all mens expectations, and to remove that which was most difficult, being that the Debts of the publike Faith should be paid by these propositions, By selling of the Excise when all things should be established; whereas the Parliament, in their care and affection to the Common-wealth, would prevent, that when it shall please the Almighty

mighty to restore *Peace*, and that our Lawes have their freedom, and the Subjects enjoy their Liberties, they should have no such extraordinary courses as are now on foot, only upon this extraordinary and necessary occasion in this time of warre, for this would bee the way to bring the Subjects of this Kingdome into as great slavery as ever, and be as much prejudiciall to the Subjects Liberty as the illegall taxe of Ship-money, or any other Monopolies which were formerly levied upon the Subject in time of peace, without any urgent necessity, but for the enriching of some Court Parasites. It were also to bring this inconvenience upon the Subject, which when they had passed withall for the Parliament, this course should not onely pay the well-affected that have borne the brunt and charge of all, but also satisfie all the Delinquents on the Kings side, which were to repay them *de suis injuriis*, and in stead of requiting them by courtesies and relaxations, to enrich their enemies (who have least to doe in the trade of the Kingdome) by taxations upon them.

4 Another most dangerous consequence of this designe was for the prevention of the assistance of our brethren of Scotland, and that which must necessarily follow, would be the imbroiling of the two Nations in divisions, in all likelihood fatal to both, and especially after their so mutuall and solemne entring into a Covenant joyndly to endeavour a Reformation of Religion most agreeable to the Word of God, and to defend the Lawes and Liberties of the Subject established in both Nations, this designe being accordingly resented to be a desperate Plot to destroy the Parliament and City. Divers Ministers in severall Parish Churches about London the last Lords day gave thanks unto Almighty God for the discovery thereof: And the Citizens of London, to testify their detestation of so pernicious a designe against the Parliament, to declare their willing and tender affection to hazard both their lives and estates in their defence, have invited the Lords and Commons in Parliament, as also the Assembly of Divines, and the Lords Commissioners of Scotland unto a dinner at Merchant-taylors Hall on Thursday January 18. and before their going thither in the morning, there is a Thanksgiving-Sermon to be preached before them by M. Marshall in Christ Church upon the said occasion. His Excellency the Earle of Essex, the Earle of Manchester, will be there present, as also the severall Colonels and Captaines belonging to the City Trained Bands: And such of the Trained Bands as are now in Towne, are appointed to meet on Thursday morning completely armed, to conduct the Parliament men and the rest to Merchant-taylors Hall.

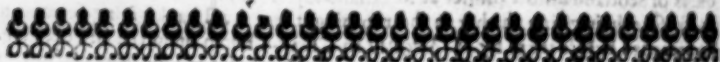
On Tuesday, Jan. 16. It was advertised by severall Letters from *Newcastle pannel*, his Excellency the E. of Essex received also a Letter to that effect, That the Earle of *Manchesters* Forces which came thither the last weeke in the roome of the London Trained

Trained bands which came home on Friday last; since their coming thither, having intelligence of a party of Cavaliers who had possessed themselves of Sir Alexander Dentons house in Buckinghamshire betwene Newport-pannell and Alesbury, the Governour in chiefe sent forth a party of Dragoones to beset the house, whereof the Cavaliers having notice about halfe an houre before they came, fled away in all haste to Brackley in Northamptonshire, leaving most of their Armes, and many of their horses behind them in the house; whereof the said Garrison-souldiers at their entrance therein possessed themselves, as also great store of Ammunition, Provision, and Treasure, which they had left behind. They have since taken about 80 of the Cavaliers which they found stragling about in small parties. This is the first action these successful Forces have achieved since their coming to the said Garrison, and it is now doubted but by Gods assistance we shall finde them both willing and ready to take all advantages as may be upon the enemy, and doe yet good service upon occasion by joyning with the Northamptonshire forces to cleare that County of the Cavaliers.

For the rest of the Earle of Manchester's forces, he hath 40 Troopes of horse quartered at Bedford to secure that Town and County, and the rest are about Huntingdonshire, both which places are now freed from the plundering of the Cavaliers.

Also the same day in pursuance of the Order of the House of Commons and the severall Orders of the Committee for the affaires of Ireland, the Committee and body of Adventurers for Ireland met at Grocers-hall, where they debated some further propositions, and matters which they had not perfected in their 2 former meetings concerning the welfare of that Kingdome in generall, and the support of the Forces there that oppose the cessation.

From Cheshire we have intelligence that Sir William Brereton is lately much straightened in Nantwich by reason of the increase of the Irish Forces upon him, which daily land out of Ireland in great numbers. There have been divers Bills put up in severall Churches in London this weeke in his behalfe, it not doubted but he shall have the prayers of all well affected persons for his deliverance. The Lord saves by few as well as by many; yet we must not expect or imagine that God will worke deliverance for us all at once, lest we forget from whom we receive deliverance, and attribute too much to our owne strength.



Printed according to Order.

London, Printed for Thomas Bates, and J.W. J. 1643.



THE
PARLIAMENT
SCOUT:

Communicating His Intelligence

TO THE

KINGDOME.

From Friday the 12. of January, to Friday the 19. of January, 164³.

IN the last we told you, that Sir *William Waller* had taken Arundell-castle, and after that was posselt of a ship fled from the Dutch to seek mercy upon the English shore, where they may expect as much as they usually shew Protestants; they had begun to pillage it, but he prevented them, the ship is said to be worth 50000. li. We told you of the number of the prisoners taken in the Castle, which of common men, were 734. in health, 300. sicke, and 150. taken at the entry of the Town, and fifty

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that escaped, but were brought back. The Commanders were these, *First*, Colonells, Colonell or Generall *Banfield*, Sir *Sir Edward Bishop*, *Sir Edward Ford*, Lieutenant Colonell *Walter Rawlins*, Major *Bowell*, *Mullins*, *Gaude*, *Mills*, *Gabriel*, *Thomas*, Provost-Marshall Generall, *Edward White*, Quarter Master to Generall or Colonell *Banfield*: Captaines of Horse, *Captaine Bellasis*, *Captaine Crossea*, *Captaine Lashford*, *Capt. Ascot*, *Captaine Haine*, *Captaine Hodgedor*: Captains of Foot, *Tanyell*, *Edmonds*, *Anthony Garnet*, *Beale*, *Gibs*, *Rawlins*, *John Ford*, *WVelson*, *Kemp*, *Leach*, *Rene*, *Malbrank*, *Thomas*, *Edward White*, Lieutenant Colonell or Generall to *Banfield*, 25. Lieutenants of horse and foot, six Cornets, two and twenty Ensignes, seven Quarter Masters, eight Chiurgions, three Ministers: Country Gentlemen, *Henry Ford*, *Gabriel Berklinham*, *Arthur Creswell*, *Eversfield*, *Henry Goring*, *Robert Alyng*, Master *Marbot*, Master *Pay* of Chilgrone, divers Yeomen, one Citizen: *Sir William Waller* intended to advance upon the coming of the Londoners to him, we wish there be no bones thrown in to hinder it, how happy were we, if we bent our spleene unanimously against the enemy: we hear not that the Londoners are farther then *Gilford*, the season will put a stop to all, or most of ours, and the enemies Winter action.

For the state of *Sir William Brereton*, its not amisse, save in the losse of his *Manchester* men, whose losse is so much the greater in regard of the cruelty of the enemy, who put those that were prisoners to the sword in cold blood; it were but justice, to demand justice of his Majestie against this cruell wretch, and in case he be not delivered, to hang 300. prisoners for those 300. and in case he be not then punished, to hang 300. more, and so on till he be delivered: If our Covenant do not binde us to bring such bloody Canniballs to condigne punishment, as well as to detest all Newtrality, it doth nothing at all: But we hope

hope he may be met with before the grand day, for by Letters of the 13. past, we are assured Sir *William Brereton* is in a good posture, and that Sir *Thom. Fairfax*, and my Lord *Gray* of some of his forces were with him by the aforesaid day, and that they will be in all 6000. horse and foot, and if *Byron* the blood sucker fall into their hands, as should be the prayer of all Soldiers, then we hope he shall finde the like mercy as he measured, both the *Wyches* are safe, and the *Westchestrians* retired home.

As for *Colonell Cromwells* losse of three Troopets, we must sometimes loose and sometimes get, we hear those that tooke them prisoners and have them in custody, used them civilly, which deserves praise, had but one bridge been looked unto they had not been taken.

The *Bishop of Canterbury* came on Tuesday to his trial, he had not brought in answer to one of his Charges, and being demanded the reason, he replied he was told he needed not, and being asked who told him so, he swore by his troth he knew not, and when he was put to it againe, he swore by his Faith he had a weak memory, and was old and could not remember the man, protesting his willingnesse if he could remember him, poor man he was so loath to be thought a Puritan, that he would needs sweare twice in a quarter of an hour, letting all his friends know he was the same man that ever he was: he is put off untill Monday next.

For my Lord *Manchesters* Army, no doubt but great care is taken of it, and the chiefe heads be now in London, for the putting things into such a posture, that for the future a constant pay may be had for them as well as their Armeares, and that done you will see them flourish, and move bravely.

And no doubt but the same will be with my Lord *Generalls* forces, when pay, and a way for recruits be agreed upon.

As for *Ireland* the *Irish* Forts be all their holds, bring in all

manner of provisions into strengths, as if they expected many powers should come against them; and now let the world judge, whether the poore Protestants, for whose miserie, the soules of so many at Oxford bleeds, have beene, or are like to be bettered by the Cessation, or the Papists: As for the Scots powers there, such is their necessitie, for want of provisions, that it is to be feared they will desert the Kingdome, which will be sad for this Kingdome, as well as for those that have estates there; fore Ireland must be recovered; and now one thousand pounds will go as far as ten thousand the next year. It cannot be a difficult thing to finde mony for to maintain fifteen thousand men there, notwithstanding all the Armies maintained here, alway remembered, that the Taxes be equally imposed; got in, and without the losse of halfe that arises, which, they say, goes away in charges.

The house of Commons had in debate this week, a difference between Sir *William Waller*, and Colonell *Stapley*, Governour of Chichester; the businesse is, Colonell *Stapley* had refused to quarter some forces sent to him by the Major Generall, the Colonell professes his readinesse to serve my Lord Generalls commands, but seems to refuse Sir *William Wallers*, though my Lord Generall hath desired him so to do: we doubt not but this businesse will be well composed, and the Major Generall at last (which is most necessary) not denied quarters in any of the Garrison-Townes within his Association.

There was also a debate about my Lord of Hollands coming into the Lords House again: It was urged, that a charge should issue against him, but after laid aside, and my Lord Generalls Ordnance re-assumed, which in regard of the exigent of time, will require all convenient expedition.

As for the income of the Scots, and their taking of Newcastle, we told you in the last, we had no certaine information, onely

onely we would henceforth account them in, for besides the advance of the enemy towards the North, as we heare, in one body, eighty Troopes of horse, and as many Dragoons, the continuall Alarms the enemy hath had, the Letters from Oxford say they are come in, and are at Newcastle; And why may we not beleieve them? For they have better intelligence, and better opportunities, then we to know: and indeed, if such a thing as their income, and taking of Newcastle, should be true, and we have no intelligence for certaine, it is a signe we have few friends, and fewer spies in the enemies Armies; and that the wind serving for so many days together, our ships, & shipmasters either are very malignant, or expect little thanks in case they should have brought this news, unlesse we shall conclude, they all stay to load Sea coales before they come, which is like to prove more beneficiall to them at their returne hither, however, we hold still to our former confidence, that the Scots are before Newcastle, if not in it; and if in it, then hath Sir Thomas Glenmermerited no honour at all, that hath had so much time to fortifie and secure that Towne of so great consequence, and at last to run out of it, as the valiant Sir Jacob Ashley did the time before.

There was on Wednesday a Petition presented to the house of Commons, by the Irish Adventurers, intreating them to think upon some sudden way of supplie for the Scots Armie there, otherwayes they would be constrained to disband and come away. They were promised an Answer upon Saturday.

There was a report made the same day of a tender of termes of accord by Lord Lovelace, which he prest with much eagernesse, and said that there should be as great a condescending as could be in reason desired to any tender conscience, and they should have what security they would demand for performance of conditions, much circumspection is to be had

in-Treaties, because they have seldom produced good to those that have not meant as they said, but the contrary.

We heare of great preferments at Oxford, and that my Lord *Hatton* is made Controulers, and Master *Lane* Lord Chief Baron, so that the Scales work both, which will be a great staff, and maintaine his Acts; time will shortly give us hope.

For the extraordinary Dutch Ambassadors, they are coming for London, concerning them and their negotiation, we will not undertake to tell beforehand; nor how the Lord *Orings* Letter will be taken by Monsieur *De Witt*.

The Ordinance for the Association of my Lord *Manchester* was past Wednesday night, which will enable him both to raise pay for his soldiers, and to prosecute designs, and to keep his forces together. This being done, the Committee is in chiefe, and the Committee will away to their Countreys, and go on with their affairs of war against the Spring, no doubt to the great content both of the Countie and Kingdom.

Thursday the Lord Generall went from Essex house, accompanied with the Earle of *Manchester*, Earle of *Stamford*, Colonell *Cromwell*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and divers Commanders of quality, unto Christ Church, where preached Master *Marshall*; the Lords and Commons were also there, and from thence went to dinner to Merchant-Tailers-Hall, where they were moderately feasted, exceedings being declined in these sad and bleeding times with England and Ireland.

After the Sermon at Christ Church, the Lord Generall, and divers other Lords, the most of the Members of the house of Commons went on foot to Merchant-Tailers-Hall, the Common-Councell going before, the Aldermen after them, the Lords and Commons following, the Trained-Bands on each side to guard them all the way.

We heare of some action between the Kings forces and those about

about Newport, the enemy had fortified, or was fortifying, Sir Alexander Denons house, which a Captaine of my Lord Generalls understanding, march towards them, which the enemy perceiving, fled, and left somewhat behinde him, but not much.

There are Private Scales gone from Oxford, to all within the command of his Majesties Armies, for the Laine of money; and it is probable they must lend, or it will be worse with them.

There was great talk of the enemies drawing towards Huntington, but it was false.

We hear not that the Gloucester Ammunition is yet gone, it is we hear come from Chelmsford County, and we hope shortly a power will go with it.

We hear that the Party that took Beely-house is yet abroad, and hath made severall attempts in Warwickshire, upon Valsam, and other quarters of the enemy.

Whether a Treaty may be assumed without the Scots?

It is conceived the Articles betwene the Nations, binde each up from a Treaty distinct, at least allows the Scots a knowledge, a probation and exception, and if that were not as it is; there is Reason:

First, if the Scots Nation should engage Kingdom with Kingdom, and each enter into Termes of accord without the other, it might be destructive to one, if not to both.

Secondly, if either should do it, the other had a just ground of deserting the other.

Thirdly, how can a warre be persecuted according to a Covenant sworne by both parties, and one party imbrace termes or enter a Treaty without the other?

Quest. 2.

Whether it be a seasonable time for this State to joyn in a war with France, and the Swedes, and the United Provinces against the house of Austria?

The time is not unseasonable:

First, because by this meanes, the Netherlands will become ours, with all their powers who now are Newters, and its discretion they so be, the same may be said of France.

Secondly,

Secondly, France and the Netherlands by this meanes will be utterly un-
usefull to the King and Parliaments enemies in England and Ireland, which
must needs bring them sooner to ruine then any other way; for by that means
all the supplies they have must come either from Dunkirke or Spaine, which
if they spare any it will be easily met withall and become prize.

Thirdly, this war well prosecuted will more conduce to the restoration of
the Prince Elector, and other the distressed in Germany, then ten thousand
men sent into Germany.

Fourthly, by this the Adventurers towards the West Indies (if we will
needs throw that way more) will be much advantaged.

Fifthly, if this be not, then all relieve whatsoever and Trade will be con-
tinued to the Irish and English party, in French, Spanish and Flemish bot-
toms, and we shall have the war prolonged years, and to our totall im-
po-
verishment, and we not know how to help it.

Quest. 3.

Whether it be not necessary to extend the compasse of Delinquency to
its utmost, and keep up the composition to the height, rather then to punish
them onely thereby to bring them from the other party?

Answer.

Its better to extend the Compasse and keep the composition up.

First, because the vast debts of the King and Parliament can never other
way be paid, if Delinquents be brought into two narrow a compasse, and
their Fines small.

Secondly, you by this take in a party, which is not to be confided in, be-
cause so uncertaine in their principles to God in matter of Religion, and to
the Kingdom in matter of Liberties.

Thirdly, if a superficial punishment passe upon any, it will be a meanes to
make others become offenders in the like kinde, because the likelynesse of the
punishment encourages in offending.

Fourthly, the generall ingagement is condigne punishment.

Fifthly, the Scots as well as English are to be paid out of Delinquents.

Printed according to Order, for
G. B. and R. W.



Be Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves.

THE

SCOTISH DOVE,

Sent out, and Returning;

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and
makes some Relations of other observable Passages
of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

*As an Antidote against the poisoned insinuations of Mercurius
Aulicus, and the errors of other intelligencers.*

From Friday the 12. of January. to the 19. of the same. 1643

BEfore I proceed to make good what our *Dove* last week promised; I shall intreat the Reader to take notice of an error last week, and the cause of it: (and not so much of the error as the cause, for that's the original) our *Dove* at her last return, related a various and controverted report (and but in three lines) of the Scots entering Newcastle, which report came to the City the evening before

before our *Dove* took her flight, and the thing was so probable, that it was generally believed by men of the best quality, which was some ground of my confidence, and was only reported by our *Dove*, as that which was probable, and by me believed, upon so strong probabilities and relations from some other parts; but not related as that which was certain: and this needs no Appologie; nor is any just blame to our *Dove*, nor to him that sent her. The error was in the circumstance or unnecessary adjunct, and that was in the *Stationer*, which was the originall of it (and some injury to the *Dove* and to her receivers) (who fixed fancie to our *Doves* wings) so as she could not fly without it, but I that sent her gave it not to her to carry, nor knew not of it.

Thus much I thought good to premise; and thereby to assure the Reader, that I am, and have ever been, as tender and cautious in my Intelligence as any man, abhorring to publish untruths: But as I have formerly said, in some preceding discourses, that it is impossible for any man that writes, or relates more then he sees, but in some circumstance he may fail, either in time, number, place, or manner, &c. But I am in the same judgment that then I was, and despair not of the truth of the first report in substance, yet confesse, it is rather from my affections, then any assurance, let time try truths, we know not what a day may bring forth.

Now to make good what our *Dove* promised last week, in which former discourse she shewed, that it may, and is evident and visibly seen, that there is something of divine providence, shewing the justnesse of the Parliaments war, and the unjustnesse of the contrary party. It remains now to shew you some examples recorded (not only in sacred Story, but in heathen Writers, confirmed by them) as the just hand of the Almighty, upon unjust wars, traitors, and their trecherous designs. I shall put men upon unlawfull and horrible actions, and when justice is abandoned, and the supplications of the wronged have no place. We read that *Antigonius* the elder, that at his end appointed himself, that when in his self-revenge and cruelty of war, a Philosopher desired to him his supplications, to do justice, he made this answer, *I will not be a fool to come to seek me of justice, when I see thee that thou art a lawless tyrant, but one observeth, That if thou only of all the famous Emperors, was never overcome in any war, because he undertook no war but what was just.*

And it is observed of *Tissapherous*, a great Generall, who was first a Traitor to the Persians, and after to the *Greeks*, and under colour of a Treaty of peace, slew all the brave Commanders of *Greece*, burnt the countries

countries about them, and accordingly did much mischief; but afterward he seeing the loss of his Army, and his Province destroyed, and in the end, as a just reward of his treachery, his head was taken from him by his Master *Artaxerxes*, for the thing he could not help.

Aristocrates betryed his people and country, and was discovered by the answer of his letter from *Anaxander*, King of *Sparta*, which was intercepted; his end was miserable, he was stoned to death, not suffered to be buried, and a monument built in memory of his infamie, to tell posterities of his base treachery, with this inscription graven: *The perjurer cannot deceive God.*

Caralla the Emperor presently after he had treacherously slaughtered the *Parthians*, was by his own servants slain himself.

The Emperor *Iustinian*, for breaking his faith with the *Barbarians*, and with the *Bulgarians*, became hatefull to his own Subjects, and had ill successe in all his wars; his Kingdome was taken from him, and he himself stigmatized, with the mark of infamy, having his nostrils stop, and put to exile. *Cleomenes* King of *Macedonia* when he had made a league with the *Argians* for seven dayes, fell upon the *Argians* the third night after, and slew many of them, saying, They made the Treaty for seven dayes, but the night was not mentioned, and as a just reward of such treachery, the *Macedonians* were not only frustrate of their end, (which was to have taken *Argos*) being beat of by the women, who took arms against them, and destroyed the most part of his Army; but in short time after, *Cleomenes* was his own executioner. The examples of Gods just revenging hand upon such faith-breakers are obvious: That of *Rastrix*, Duke of *Cleavland*, breaking faith with *Lewis*, King of *Germany* is remarkable, he was overthrown, and both his eyes put out, as a mark of his faithlesse dealing. And the miseries of these times have been procured, caused, and continued by faith-breaking persons, that value promises and oaths as things of no value, but art to achieve their own ends; what else hath kindled this fire of sedition in *Great Britain*: and what else addeth daily fuel to that fire; what else but the breach of faith, hath at this day brought the present misery upon the Kingdome of *Denmark*, and justly, by the hands of them intended to be betrayed; surely the righteous God is just in all his doings, and that God who is invocated as a Judge of the differences in *Great Britain*, will in the day that he will appoint, give sentence, and declare manifestly to the eyes of all men, who have dealt treacherously, and called him to witnesse a lye.

That the Popish faction have most trayterous procured our troubles,

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Now to make good what former discourse she shew'd, that there is something in the Passiments worthy. It remains now to shew in sacred story, due to each hand of the Almighty, upon various degrees of guilt and punitions, and upon justice to be wronged, &c. &c. &c.

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That the Popish faction have most trayterous procured our troubles,

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bles, and now make war against the Parliament, is so manifest and cleare, that any men not voyd of reason or sence may see; why else were divisions cast in the Houses? why were some charged with treason, and no cause shewed? Why was those Courts of Star-chamber, and High Commission suffered to be put down, and now indavoured to be set up againe? Why were those Lawes consented to, which they now make war against to breake, why did they raise tumults in the City, and then cry out against the Citizens for mutinies? Why did they pretend danger to the Kings person, and under pretence of a guard for his person, raise an Army to destroy our Religion our Lawes, the King and his kingdome, and all under pretence of defending them? why have they by bribes, fraud, and treachery betrayed Townes? They have trayterously misled our Sovereigne, to engage him to a war against himself, his best friends his faithfull Subjects; to take part with his profest enemies, traytours to his person and posterity: read their actions and you will in them reade all that I say: and neither I nor any other shall neede to write any thing to informe your judgements: doe they not deale with us as the treacherous *Samaritans* dealt with *Nehemiah*: have they not used the same ends, and hath not God discovered all this unto us? and can any man thinke that God will not be avenged on them, and let his people see their destruction, that they may praise him: let who will doubt of it, I will beleve it, and expect it in due time, as I beleve that God is true, which he that beleeveth not, *let him be accursed: Judah hath dealt treacherously, and an abominable thing is committed in Israel; Judah hath prophaned the holinesse of the Lord, and married the daughter of a strange God, &c.*

Now for intelligence first, briefly concerning the *Prince de Harcourt*, he having notice by a letter from the Parliament, of a letter intercepted from the Lord *Goring* (of which we told you last weeke) and withall the reason why they stayed his packet, and opened the letter to *Monsieur de Gressy* in which was inclosed the lord *Goring*s letter: *Prince de Harcourt* is (as we are informed) much discontented, (not against the Parliament but) against the Lord *Goring*, and the concealed designs in *France*, and desires shortly to have safe convoy, and to depart the Kingdome.

We have intelligence of a ship lately taken guarded by two *Hollanders*, bound for the West parts to serve our worst friends, which was bravely taken by Captaine *Zachary*: she is a ship of good prize, you shall heare more of her hereafter. Another ship belonging to the designs of the English Cavaliers and Irish Rebels and

and serving between both, is lately with severall Armes and Ammunition, which she was carrying from *Bristol* to *Westchester*) by the honesty of the Martiners brought into *Learpools* to be employed against the Cavaliers and Rebellious Irish.

The Arch-Bishop who should have come to his answer on Tuesday, is yet deferred till Monday next: The reason (and all that I have heard) is, there having been a new charge, and addition of Articles of impeachment against him: he said he had provided answers onely to them: supposing the former had been all included: and to which he was not ready to answer.

From Sir *William Waller* something wee heare, not so well as should be, yet nothing ill in him, or concerning him: some differences by reason of aspiring thoughts, in some who refuse subjection to his commands, but I say no more of that, what I say, is rather to expresse my sorrow, and to forwarne a danger, if the evill be not prevented and the fault amended, both in our Armies and Collegiat members, for every one seekes superiority, all would command, but none are willing to obey, except his own will.

Sir *Ralph Hopton* is retreated farther from Sir *William Waller* for feare: let all that the State hath to command by him, draw nearer to him in love and obedience: We have intelligence that *Hopton* is drawing toward *Salisbury* and *Andover*, to consider either what he can do, or what he hath done (I wish the latter) that he may repent.

The Commander of the beaten Forces, that was lately before *Plimouth*, is drawing to *Exeter*, he thinkes they'll need help at *Oxford* (it seemes) as he did at *Plimouth*: but if God be against them, it is not the strength of men, nor horse can save them. There was a letter intercepted written from the supposed Lord *Biron*: the knight commended to be confided in for the keeping of the Tower, not long since: and this letter, was written to the Earle of *Newcastle*: wherein with much joy he relates his victory against the *Manchester* men; And because the victory (if he consider his losse) was no great matter of glory, he glories in his Inhumanity, or savage cruelty and Writs, that when some of those *Lancashire* men routed by him, fled into the Church to save themselves: that he (though he promised them quarter) put them every one to the sword, and bathed his hands in their blood: saying it was mercy enough to shew any cruelty to the Parliament Rebels: I pray God avenge their blood upon him, and make him exemplary, for his mercilesse cruelty:

There was a Letter intercepted, written from the Earle of *Newcastle*,
to

to Master *Webster* and Master *Bainham* in *Holland*, both Dutch Merchants; the effect of the Letter was, speedily to provide and send him 10000. Armes, by a safe convoy, and that he had provided such a quantity of Butter and Coals, as should pay for the arms, but they have not this Letter, nor will he have the arms, I hope.

There came Intelligence to the House on *Thursday*, that Sir *Alexander Dymocks* house in *Oxfordshire* was taken by the Parliaments forces, the house is called *Hilsden*, it is 14. or 15. miles from *Oxford*, and 7. or 8. miles from *Alesbury*, it was taken by some that went from *Newport* pannel, and some from *Banbury*, about 100. in all, there were in the house 140. many were taken prisoners, and about 100. arms. Sir *Alexander* himself escaped. Colonel *Maffie* hath done something against his neighbouring enemies at *Wottonunderidge*, who were marching towards the Lord *Shaudoers* house, and some *Irish* with them, of whom Colonel *Maffie* had notice, who waited his opportunity, and fell upon them, but the certainty of the effect or issue is not yet known. By a Letter from Sir *Wil. Brereton*, dated the 9 of *January*, we are assured that he was then at *Stafford*, where hee met with Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, and thither they expected the coming of *Morelanders* to joyn with them, intending to march from thence to *Manchester*; and to adde to their strength as many as conveniently they could of that County, and so march into *Cheshire*, taking with them the willing men of that side the County, and either goe to *Namptwich*, or to finde out the enemy, whether Sir *Will. Brereton* goes with Sir *Tho. Fairfax* all this march, or whether he be returned, in person to *Namptwich*, is controverted: a good and sufficient garrison we are sure is left in *Namptwich*, and have bravely behaved themselves against the enemy, who have made severall assaults (or rather attempts) against the town, but lately they issued out of the town, and did very good service, in execution upon the enemy, and took some great pieces; the garrison at *Wem* have also given two or three alarms to *Shrewsbury*.

By severall relations from our *Oxford* friends, we are certified, that Prince *Rupert* and M. *Garnan* cannot agree, the Prince dislikes the coming over of the *Irish* Rebels, and thinks there is no intention answerable to former pretences: there is hopes he may become an honest man, (if plunder hinder not) we are certified that there are great discentions among the rest; but that her Majesty should strike the good Lady *Thinn*, me thinks it should not be true; yet they say her Majesty gave her a box of the eare, which the Lady *Thinn*,

Thinn, gave to *M. Garman* to keep; but we are not willing to tell all to the world, that is done at *Oxford*: for it was never well with *England* since men knew so many secrets; for things secret are grown too common.

One thing I heare from *Oxford* pleaseth me well, that the once good Doctor *Usher*, and once bad Bishop *Armah*; either for feare or conscience, begins to deale plainly, and speak truthe, as becomes a Preacher: for not long since in his Sermon he said that his Majesty is bound in conscience to reveale that counsell who put him upon the cessation of Armes, with the Irish Rebels; for (saith he) it was counsell from hell, devillish and damnable, &c.

The Lords have voted the Earl of *Holland* into the house again, but the Commons have not yet agreed to it. There was great debate in the House on *Wednesday*, whether an impeachment should be drawn up against him or not, and much time spent in the question, but the major Vote carried it; that it should not at this time be put to the Vote; they know what they intend, and will do what is best, I will believe so: and that they are as willing to shew mercy, as they are unwilling to be betrayed, although they would with justice punish delinquencie in any, yet they would mix mercy with justice to all, even to the worst that are at *Oxford*, if reality may appeare in them, and that they at the last hour would repent and return from whence they are fallen, or come (in truth) where in truth they never were.

The States of *Holland* (of which our *Dow* told you last weeke) came into *London* on *Wednesday* in the evening, being met by some Members of both Houses, at *Gravesend*, and brought into the City by divers othes; their entertainment is noble, and wee will hope they will be as noble to deserve such entertainment, and ingage the Kingdome to redouble greater honours then these; *Time will trie all things*.

On *Thursday* the whole Parliament, Lords and Commons, were feasted by the City, at *Merchant-Taylors Hall*, and with them the whole Assembly of *Dish Ours* and the *Strangers*; they met about nine of the clock at *Christ Church*, where the Lord Maior, the Aldermen, and the Common Councell met to heare a Sermon; Master *Marshall* preached; and from thence they went to *Merchant-Taylors Hall*, to dinner, all the Regiments of trained Bands standing from *Christ Church* to *Merchant-Taylors Hall*, on both sides, as two walls, between which they passed, without croud or disturbance, The Lord Generall. and Lord Admirall, attended with
Collonels

Colonels and Military Commanders, went on foot, to the great content of the Spectators to see them, so Noble, faithfull, and honorable Pillars of their truth, and maintainers of their Rights, with the rest of our Worthies. Against they came through *Cheapside*, there was set up a sliight Scaffold of Fir-polls, on which was fixed the Statues and Pictures of the fancied *Roman* gods, Idolatrous Superstitious Crucifixes, Crosses, Whips, &c. And as the Lords and Commons were passed by, they were all set on fire and burnt to ashes, the smoake like Incence ascended towards heaven, as that which was acceptable to God. Take notice that the cause of this meeting, was first in a thankfull acknowledgement of Gods mercy, in discovering the late plot: secondly, to shew how far such pretences are from their acceptance; as that the more the wicked contrivers seek to raise descension between the Parliament and the City, the more they are unanimously united, and by it the enemy may know, mangre all their malice, the City neither wants money nor necessities, for common or extraordinary use; this is Gods goodness, and we will give him praise.

From the Scots there is no more certaine newes then was last week, but some confirmations of the probability of the truth, of our last weekes report, *viz.* that the Scots are entered *Newcastle*: and for my part I doe beleieve it is true, although some more spleenish then discrete accept against what I last week affirmed: and yet what they blame me for writing on Friday, they affirme on Tuesday, and upon no better ground. I relate it as probable, and so I did before; I beleieve it is true and I desire it, and yet it is possible it may not be: Let us waite upon God, what is not as we would have it to day, may be (if God please) to morrow.



Printed according to Order, for L. C.

ARTICLES
OF THE
COMMONS
ASSEMBLED IN
PARLIAMENT.

IN
Maintenance of their Accusation, against
WILLIAM LAUD Archbishop of Canterbury,
whereby he stands charged with high Treason.

ALSO,
Further Articles of Impeachment by
the Commons in Parliament, against the said
Archbishop of Canterbury, of high Treason,
and divers high Crimes and misdemeanors.

Die Mercurii, 17 Jan. 1643.

Ordered by the Lords assembled in Parliament, That these
Articles and Impeachments, be forthwith Printed and
published,

John Brown Cler. Parliamentor.

Jan. 19. Printed for John Wright, in the Old-bailey. 1643.

Articles of the Commons assembled in Parliament, in maintenance of the Accusation against William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, whereby he stands charged with high Treason.

1. **T**hat he hath Treiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamentall Lawes, and Government of the Kingdome of England, and in that behalf to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Government against Law, and to that end hath wickedly and Treiterously advised his Majesty, that he might at his owne will and pleasure levy and take money of his Subjects, without their consent in Parliament, and this he affirmed, was warrantable by the Law of God.

2. He hath for the better accomplishment of that his Treiterous Designe, advised and procured others Sermons and other discourses, to be preached, Printed, and published, in which the authority of Parliaments, and the force of the Lawes of the Kingdome are denied, and an absolute and unlimited power over the Persons and Estates of his Majesties Subjects, is maintained and defended, not onely in the King, but also in himselfe and other Bishops, above and against the Law, and he hath bin a great protector, favourer, and promoter of the publishers of such false and pernicious opinions.

3. He hath by Letters, Messages, Threats, promises, and others other waies to Judges and other Ministers of Justice, interrupted and perverted, and at other times by the meanes of others, hath endeavoured to interrupt and pervert the course of Justice, in his Majesties Courts at Westminster, and other Courts,

Courts, to the subversion of the Lawes of this Kingdome, whereby many of his Majesties Subjects have bene lost in their just rights, and bereaved of their lawfull rights, and subjected to his Tyrannicall will, to their great damage & destruction.

4. That the said Archbishop, hath Traiterously and corruptly sold Justice to those that have had causes depending before him, by colour of his Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, as Archbishop, High Commissioner, Referee or otherwise, and hath taken unlawfull Gifts and Bribes of his Majesties Subjects, and hath as much as in him lyeth, endeavoured to corrupt other Courts of Justice, by advising his Majesty to sell places of judicature and other Offices, and procuring the sale of them contrary to the Lawes and Statutes in that behalf.

5. He hath Traiterously caused a Booke of Canons to be composed and published, and these Canons to be put in execution, without any lawfull warrant and authority in that behalf, And these pretended Canons, many matters are contained contrary to the Kings Prerogative, to the fundamentall Lawes and Statutes of this Realme, to the right of Parliament, to the property and liberty of the Subjects, & matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence, & to the Establishment of a most unlawfull, and presumptuous power in himselfe, and his Successors; many of which Canons, by the practice of the said Archbishop, were surreptitiously passed in the late Convocation, without due consideration and debate, others by fearre and compulsion were subscribed to by the Bishops and Clerks there assembled, which had never bene voted and passed in the Convocation as they ought to have bene, and the said Archbishop hath contrived and endeavoured, to assure and confirme the unlawfull and exorbitant power, which he hath usurped and exercised over his Majesties Subjects, by a wicked and ungodly Oath in one of the said pretended Canons, enjoined to be taken by all the Clergy, and many of the Laity of this Kingdome.

6. He hath Traiterously assumed to himselfe, a Papall and Tyrannicall

Oranickall power, both in Ecclesiasticall and Temporall matters, over his Majesties Subjects in this Realme of England, and in other places, to the subversion of the Crowne: Dissonance of his Majesties, and derogation of his Majesties Authority in Ecclesiasticall matters.

And the said Archbishop claimes the Kings Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, as incident to his Episcopall and Archiepiscopall Office in this Kingdome, and doth drey the same to be detatched from the Crowne of England, which he hath accordingly exercised to the high contempt of his Royall Majestie, and to the destruction of Divers of the Kings Liege-people, in their persons and Estates.

That he hath Traitorously endeavoured to alter and subvert Gods true Religion, by Law established in this Realme, and in stead thereof to set up Popish superstition and Idolatry: And to that end, hath declared and maintained in speeches and printed Bookes, Divers Popish doctrines and opinions, contrary to the Articles of Religion established. He hath urged and informed Divers Popish and superstitious Ceremonies without any warrant of Law, and hath cruelly persecuted those who have opposed the same, by corporal punishment and imprisonment, and most unjustly bereaved others who refused to conforme therunto, by Ecclesiasticall Censures of Excommunication, Suspension, Deposition, & Interdiction, contrary to the Law of this Kingdome.

That for the better advancing of his Traitorous purpose and designe, he did abuse the great power and trust his Majesties reposed in him, and did intrude upon the places of Divers great Officers, and upon the right of other his Majesties Subjects, power by he did procure to himselfe the nomination of sundry persons, to Ecclesiasticall dignities, promotions, and Benefices, belonging to his Majestie, and Divers of the Nobility, Gentry, Nobles, and he did take upon him the commendation of Chaplains to the King, by which means he hath preferred to his Majesties service, and to other great promotions in the Church;

Church, such as have ben Popish, affected, or otherwise unsound and corrupt both in Doctrine and Manners.

9. He hath for the same Traiterous and wicked intent, chosen & employed such men to be his Chaplaines, whom he knew to be notoriously disaffected to the reformed Religion, grossly addicted to Popish superstition, and Erroneous and unsound both in judgement and practise, and to them of some of them, he hath committed the Licensing of Booke to be printed, by which meanes, diuers false and Superstitious Booke have bene published, to the great scandall of Religion, and to the seducing of many of his Majesties Subjects.

10. He hath Traiterously and wickedly endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England, with the Church of Rome, and for the effecting thereof, hath consorted and confederated with diuers popish Priests and Jesuits, and hath kept secret intelligence with the Pope of Rome, and by himselfe his Agents or Instruments treated with such as have from thence received authority and instruction, he hath permitted and countenanced a Popish Hierarchie or Ecclesiasticall Government, to be established in this Kingdom, by al which Traiterous & malicious practises, this Church & Kingdome hath bene exceedingly endangered & liketo fall under the tyranny of the Roman See.

11. He in his owne person and his Sufferagans, Bishops, Surrogates, Chancellors, or other Officers by his command, have caused diuers learned, pious, and Orthodox Preachers of Gods Word, to be Silenced, Suspended, Depriued, Degraded, Excommunicated, or otherwise grieved and vexed without any just and lawfull cause, whereby, and by diuers other meanes he hath hindered the preaching of Gods Word, caused diuers of his Majesties loyal Subjects to forsake the Kingdome, and increased and cherisned ignorance & pophane knowledge amongst the people, that so he might the better facilitate the way to the effecting of his owne wicked and Traiterous designe of altering and corrupting the true Religion here established.

(5)
13. He hath Traiterously endeavoured to cause division and
discord betwixt the Church of England and other Reformed
Churches, and so that end hath suppressed and abrogated the pri-
viledges & immunities which have beene by His Majesty and
his Royall Ancestors granted to the French and Iured Church
es in this Kingdome, and others other waies hath increased
his malice and disaffection to those Churches, that by such
disunion, the Papists might have more advantage for the over-
throw and extirpation of both.

14. He hath maliciously and Traiterously plotted and endea-
voured to stir up war and enmity betwixt His Majesties two
Kingdomes of England and Scotland, and to that purpose hath
laboured to introduce into the Kingdome of Scotland, diverse
innovations both in Religion and Government, all of the most
part tending to Popery and Superstition, to the great grie-
vance and discontent of His Majesties Subjects of that Na-
tion, and for their refusing so submit to such innovations, he
did Traiterously advise His Majesty to subdue them by force
of Armes, and by his owne Authority and Power contrary to
law, did procure supply of His Majesties Subjects, and enco-
ured the Clergie of this Kingdome to contribute towards the
maintenance of that war, and when his Majesty with much
wisdom and justice, had made a pacification betwixt the two
Kingdomes, the said Arch-Bishop by his councill and endea-
vours did presumptuously censure that pacification as disho-
nourable to His Majesty, and incited His Majesty against his
said Subjects of Scotland, that he did thereupon by advice of
the said Arch-Bishop enter into an offensive warre against
them, to the great hazard of His Majesties Person, and Sub-
jects of both Kingdomes.

14. That to preserve himselfe from being questioned for
these and other his Traiterous courses, he hath laboured to
subvert the rights of Parliaments, and the Ancient course of
Parliamentary proceedings, and by false and malicious slan-
ders to incense His Majesty against Parliaments.

By which words, Councells, and Actions, he hath Treasonously and contrary to his Allegiance, laboured to alienate the hearts of the Kings Liege people from ~~the King~~ to set a Division betweene them, and to ruine and destroy his Majesties Kingdomes, for which they doe impeach him of high Treason, against Our Sovereigne Lord the King, his Crowne and Dignity.

The said Commons doe further averre, That the said ~~Archbishop~~ Archbishop of *Canterbury*, during the time in which the Treasons and Offences aforementioned were committed, hath beene Bishop or Archbishop in this Realme of *England*, one of the Kings Commissioners for Ecclesiasticall matters, and of his Majesties most Honourable Privie Councell, and that he hath taken an Oath for his faithfull discharge of the said Office of a Councellour, and hath likewise taken the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance. And the said Commons by Protestation, saving to themselves the liberty of Exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other Accusation or Impeachment against the said Archbishop, and also of replying to the answers that the said Archbishop shall make unto the said Articles, or to any of them, and of offering further prooffe also of the premises, or any of them, as the case shall according to the course of Parliaments require, do pray, that the said Archbishop may be put to answer to all and every the premises, and that such proceedings, Examination, Tryall, and Judgement, may be upon every of them, had, and used, as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

Further



Further Articles of Impeachment by the
Commons assembled in Parliament against *William*

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, of high Treason, and divers high crimes and misdemeanours, as followeth.

1. **T**hat the said Archbishop of Canterbury to introduce an Arbitrary government within this Realme, and to destroy Parliaments in the third and fourth yeares of his *Majesties* reigne that now is, a Parliament being then called, a sitting at Westminster, traitorously and maliciously caused the said Parliament to be dissolved, to the great grievance of his *Majesties* subjects, and prejudice of this Commonwealt: And soon after the dissolution thereof, gave divers Propositions under his hand, to George then Duke of Buckingham, calling therein many false aspersions upon the said Parliament, calling it a factious Parliament, and falsly affirming that it had call many scandals upon his *Majesty*, and had used him like a childe in his minority, killing them Puritans, and commending the Papists for hardelle and peaceable subjects.

2. That within the space of ten yeares last past, the said Archbishop hath treacherously endeavoured to subvert the fundamentall Lawes of this Realme, and

to that end hath in like manner endeavoured to advance the power of the Councell Table, the Canons of the Church, and the Kings Prerogative, above the Lawes and Statutes of the Realme. And for manifestation thereof, about six yeares last past, being then a Pryvy Councelloz to his Maiesty, and sitting at the Councell Table, he said, that as long as he sat there they should know that an Order of that Board should be of equal force with a law or Act of Parliam. And at another time used these words, That he hoped ere long that the Canons of the Church, and the Kings Prerogative, should be of as great power as an Act of Parliament. And at another time said, that those that would not yeeld to the Kings power, he would crush them to peeces.

3. That the said Archbishop, to advance the Canons of the Church, and power Ecclesiasticall above the law of the Land, and to pervert and hinder the course of Justice, hath at divers times within the said time, by his Letters and other undue meanes and solicitations used to Judges, opposed and stopped the granting of his Maiesties writtes of Prohibition, where the same ought to have beene granted for stay of proceedings in the Ecclesiasticall Court, whereby Justice hath beene delayed and hindered, and the Judges diverted from doing their duties.

4. That for the end and purpose also, claid, about seven yeares last past, a Judgement being given in his Maiesties Court of Kings Bench, against one Barley a Parson, being a man of bad life and conversation, in an information upon the Statute of 24. Hen. 8. for wilfull Non-residency, the said Archbishop by solicitations and other undue meanes used to the Judges
of

of that Court, caused Execution upon the said Judgement to be stayed: And being moved therein, and made acquainted with the bad life and conversation of the said parson, he said, that he had spoken to the Judges for him, and that he would never suffer a Judgement to passe against a Clergy-man by nihil dicit.

5. That the said Archbishop about eight yeares last past being then also a privy Counsellor to his Majesty, for the end and purpose aforesaid, caused Sir John Corbet of Stooke in the County of Salop Baronet, then a Justice of peace of the said County, to bee committed to the prison of the Fleet, where he continued prisoner for the space of halfe a yeare, or more, for no other cause, but for calling for the Petition of Right, and causing it to be read at the Sessions of the peace for that County, upon a just and necessary occasion. And during the time of his said imprisonment the said Archbishop, without any colour of right, by a writing under the Seale of his Archbishopricke, granted away parcell of the Glebe land of the Church of Adderley in the said County, whereof the said Sir John Corbet was then patron, unto Robert Wilmour Kilmurrey, without the consent of the said Sir John, or the then Incumbent of the said Church, which said Wilmour Kilmurrey built a Chappell upon the said parcell of Glebe land, to the great prejudice of the said Sir John Corbet, which hath caused great suits and dissensions betwene them. And whereas the said Sir John Corbet had a Judgement against Sir James Sconehouse Knight, in an action of Waste, in his Majesties Court of Common Pleas at Westmister, which was afterwards affirmed in a writ of Error in the Kings Bench, and Execution thereupon awarded: yet

the said Sir John, by meanes of the said Archbishop could not have the effect thereof, but was committed to prison by the said Archbishop and others at the Councell Table, untill he had submitted himselfe unto the Order of the said Table, whereby he lost the benefit of the said Judgement and Execution.

6. That whereas divers gifts and dispositions of divers summes of money were heretofore made by divers charitable and well disposed persons, for the buying in of divers Appropriations for the maintenance of preaching the word of God in severall Churches, the said Archbishop about eight yeares last past, wilfully and maliciously caused the said gifts, leaselements, and conveyances made to the uses aforesaid, to bee overthrowne in his Majesties Court of Exchequer, contrary to Law, as things dangerous to the Church and State, under the specious pretence of buying in Appropriations, whereby that pious worke was suppressed and trodden downe, to the great dishonour of God, and scandal of Religion.

7. That the said Archbishop at severall times, within these ten yeeres last past, at Westminster and elsewhere within this Realme, contrary to the known Laws of this Land, hath endeavoured to advance Popery and Superstition within the Realme: And for that end and purpose hath wittingly and willingly received, harboured and relieved divers Popish Priests and Jesuits, namely one called Sancia Clara, alias Dampott, a dangerous Person, and Franciscan Fryer, who having written a Popish and seditious Booke, intituled Deus natura gratia, wherein the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England, established by Act of Parllament, were much traduced and scandalized:

nd: The said Archbishop had divers conferences with him, while hee was in writing the said Book; and did also provide maintenance and entertainment for one Mountier Sc. Giles a Popish Priest at Oxford, knowing him to be a Popish Priest.

That the said Archbishop about foure yeers last past at Westminster aforesaid; said, that there must be a blow given to the Church, such as hath not bin yet given, before it could bee brought to conformity; declaring thereby his intention to be, to shake and alter the true Protestant Religion established in the Church of England.

9. That in, or about the month of May, 1641. presently after the dissolution of the last Parliament; the said Archbishop for the ends and purposes aforesaid, caused a Synod or Convocation of the Clergy to bee held for the severall Provinces of Canterbury and York; wherein were made and established by his meanes and procurement: Divers Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall; contrary to the Laws of this Realme, the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty and property of the Subject, tending also to sedition, and of dangerous consequence: And amongst other things, the said Archbishop caused a most dangerous and illegal Oath to be therein made and contrived, the tenor whereof followeth in these words. *That I A. B. doe swear that I doe approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of England; and containing all things necessary to Salvation: And that I will not endeavour by my selfe or any other, directly or indirectly to bring in any Popish Doctrine, contrary to that which is so established: Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church by Archbishops, Bi-*

shops

shops, Deanes, and Arch-Deacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand: Nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I doe plainly and sincerely acknowledge and sweare, according to the plain and common sense, and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental reservation, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I doe heartily, willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Christian: So help me God in Iesus Christ, which Oath the said Archbishop himselfe did take, and caused divers other Ministers of the Church to take the same, upon paine of suspension and deprivation of their Livings, and other severe penalties: And did also cause Godfrey, then Bishop of Gloucester, to be committed to prison for refusing to subscribe to the said Canons, and to take the said Oath: And afterward the said Bishop submitting himselfe to take the said Oath, he was set at liberty.

So, That a little before the calling of the last Parliament, anno 1640. a vote being then passed, and a resolution taken at the Council Table by the advice of the said Archbishop, for assisting of the King in extraordinary wayes if the said Parliament should prove peevish, and refuse to supply his Majesty: The said Archbishop wickedly and maliciously advised his Majesty to dissolve the said Parliament, and accordingly the same was dissolved: And presently after the said Archbishop told his Majesty, that now he was absolved from all rules of Government, and left free to use extraordinary wayes for his supply.

After the Government of this Church by Archbishop, B.

For all which matters and things the said Commons assembled in Parliament in the name of the nobles and of all the Commons of England, doe impeach the said Archbishop of Canterbury of high Treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours tending to the subversion of our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, and to the utter ruine of this Church and Common-wealth.

And the said Commons by protestation saving to themselves the libertie of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any further or other Accusation or Impeachment against the said William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, and also of replying to the answer that he shall make unto the said articles, or any of them: Doe offering proove of the premisses, or any other Impeachment or accusations that shal be exhibited by them as the cause shall (according to the course of Parliaments) require; Doe pray that hee the said William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury may be called to answer the said several crimes and misdemeanours, and receive such

such condigne punishment as the same may
deserve, and that such further proceedings
may be upon either of them had, and also
against him as is agreeable to Law and
Justice.

FINIS

Jan. 19.

17 Numb. 3.

OCCURRENCES

Of Certain Special and Remarkable Passages in PARLIAMENT, and the affaires of the Kingdome, for fuller Satisfaction.

From Friday the 12. of January, to Friday the 19. of the same. 1644.

Containing these Particulars;

1. The great Triumph of the States of England and Commissioners of Scotland and Embassadors from Holland at Merchants Taylers Hall, on Thursday Jan 18 and special Passages there observed.
2. The Desires of the Embassadors from the States of Holland made known to the Parliament.
3. Sir William Brereton in great distress, except he be relieved: And how Nampwich is still besieged, and how the Enemy hath made three Onsets upon them.
4. How Captain Venables withstood the Enemy valiantly, and with two Companies relieved the Gurofons, and rescued four Pieces of Ordnance, from five thousand English and Irish, under bloody Byron.
5. The States meeting at Christ Church, and the Cause thereof.
6. A Catalogue of Popish Pictures burnt, gathered in Cheap side, by Order of the Lords and Commons. As namely, a Popish Handkerchief dipped in the Kings blood at the Gallows, the Beades, Crucifixes, Crosses, Congering boxes, and other trimkets, as you may see in reading the Relation.
7. Sir William Waller intends to follow Hopton to Winchester.
8. Articles drawn up against Sir Edward Deering, who as some say is committed prisoner to Bristol, but thereupon not certain.
9. A Letter intercepted from the Governor of Newcastle to the Earl of Newcastle.
10. Drums beat in the North, to help the Earl of Newcastle against the Scots.
11. Divers Proceedings concerning the Kingdome of Ireland, and of a report of a late Fight in the North part thereof.
12. Proceedings concerning the Bishop of Gloucestershire, and Ratter and places appointed for his Trial, in the Lords House, against Edmund Waller, with the number of his Triall, as it is appointed to be.
13. A Desert given to the Enemy near Marston, in the edge of Northamptonshire, where some Forces flew their Governor in chief, and some others, took forty Prisoners, fifty Horses, eighty Arms, and put the rest to flight.

London, Printed for Andrew Coe, according to Order. 1643.

OCCURRENCES

Of the most Remarkable Passages of Parliament, and the affairs of the Kingdome, for fuller satisfaction.

THe Bishop of Canterbury was accordingly (as it was ordered) brought before the House of Lords on Tuesday last, and charged with those Articles formerly exhibited in Parliament against him, and also some other Articles which were not before brought in; to all which he pleaded not guilty, yet because there were some new Articles against him besides the former, he desired further time to be given him, and it was granted him till Munday next.

So that on Munday the two and twenty of this present month of January, is the day wherein this little (long expected) Land is to receive his great and just deserved Charge; His trial is to be in this manner.

The manner of the Preparations for the Bishop of Canterburies Trial.

He is to be brought to the House of Lords by the Honourable Alderman Penington, Lieutenant of (His Majesties royal Castle) the Tower, and there at the Barre in the House of Lords, is a place Railed in, purposely made for him to stand in, in the middle of the House, just at the same place where the Barre is, and on his left hand are his Countsell to sit, together with the witnesses that are to give in evidence against him, and on his right hand, is another place prepared for the Members of

of the House of Commons to sit in, who bring up the Charge
against him.

The House of Lords are to sit in their Parliament Robes as
Judges, in their severall places, to judge him by a just and legall
tryall, which he shall then undoubtedly receive, if God permit.

Yet one thing is somewhat observable in this day, for Anno
1641, on the very same day, Jan. 23, when the Queen retur-
ned from the Hague, she landed at Bollington Key, which is
therefore created for an Holy day at Oxford by the Prelates,
and entred into the Kalendar of the Oxford Almanack.

Out of Ireland we are informed; that the Cessation there
hath not yet (God be praised) utterly routed out the Prote-
stants, though they have suffered much since; some say the
Scots have sustained much losse of late by the Rebels, but the
report is not certain. The wicked Governour at Dublin, doth
much mischief; but he can do no more then God will suffer
him.

The truth of it is, the Scots go on very valiantly against the
Rebels; and many of the Native Irish, who before stood for
the Priviledges of their own Country, dislike the power there
conferred upon the Papists. Indeed many Tradesmen, and
Husbandmen, and such like, do not much matter for Religion,
or what Lawes they have, so the Warres may cease; but those
who are of better judgements to consider of weighty matters,
endeavour still to oppose the Rebels, as well as the Soldiers;
and it is to be wished, that the noble and worthy Adventurers,
that have had so many summons, delay not too long, to meet,
and conclude to send a speedy supply, as is by some of them
not only much desired, but laboured for. Let the Scots wil-
lingdely to assist us and Ireland against ours and their enemies,
be patient to us to joyn with the Scots, to assist them in
the same.

At Saffron near Manton in the edge of Northamptonshire
on Friday was seaven night last, the Enemy fled our quarters,

with two Troops of Horse, and one Company of Dragoons, our Forces made out towards them, being about seventy horse, and fell upon them: they discharged against us, and we upon them very hot, the skirmish was very violent: they lost their chiefe Commander, and our Captain was dangerously wounded, but not mortally: and three or four of our men were slaine: yet our men getting within them, made many of them to yeeld upon quarter for their lives: so that our Forces took forty prisoners besides those that were slaine, fifty Horse, and almost eighty Armes, such as they had, for indeed they were but poorly armed, and the rest got away and fled from them.

There is a report, that a party was sent from Northampton, who took some Officers of Note, that belong to the Garrison at Toucester making merry, and carried them prisoners to Northampton, but the relation is something doubtfull: indeed at Honeby house we are informed, ~~Messrs~~ had inquired some Malignants of the Commission of Array for the County, which were there met withall and taken prisoners by the Northampton Forces.

That we are no better satisfied concerning the Proceedings of the Scotch Army, is no wonder, considering the North Country, through which they march, and the present season, besides the trouble and danger of the Enemy, for who ever hath been in those parts, do well know, that it is the worst passage that can be in winter, and that not only by reason of many Hills and Dalcs, and stony rough way, but through hard frosts, and great snow: when we have scarce snow lye on our houses, many have been smothered in snow about Edlingham Hills in Northumberland, and near Stanhope in the Bishoprick of Durham, the snow hath increased so fast upon travellers in the high way, that they have been smothered therein to death: yet we have had it often reported, and by some beleived, that Newcastle is taken, and for my part I should be as willing to believe it as others, were there ground for it, and I can hope as well that

it is taken as they: The last news from those parts, came in two Letters.

The one was to a Member of the House of Commons: That a Brigade of the Scots, that is about six thousand, were marched out of Barwick five dayes before the date thereof, that is about a week since, according to the date of the said Letter: So that a fortnights march, we are to conceive them hereupon to be, but Newcastle being fifty miles on this side Barwick, and the wayes and season of the year, such as aforesaid, it is doubtfull whether such an Army, with their traine of Ammunition, can so soone bee there: but of certainty there is no relation come to the Parliament.

Another letter was intercepted by the Lord Fairfax directed to the Earle of Newcastle, which declared that the townsmen of Newcastle seemed so much to desire the Approach of the Scots, that hee could not expect, but that when they came before the towne, they would yeld it up to them, whether he would or no.

Sir William Waller having placed sufficient strength in all his owne garrisons, is now intending himselfe to follow the Lord Hopton to Winchester, Sir William is warme in believing the Hoptonians, and his courageous souldiers are well blooded in the work, the extremity of the weather hath bin some let to them, frost and snow is ill for souldiers to lye in sieges: but we doubt not but in few dayes we shall heare of Hopton retreating againe: Westward hee and the Lord Crawford will find a backe done there too, and Sir Edward Dering too, who for all his dissembling letters, in which hee pretended so much sorrow for his leaving of the Parliament, it was onely when he was in feare to be taken: for now hee is absolute a Cavalier againe, as ever he was before: though not in so great favour altogether, nay some affirme that he is committed; and that Articles are drawne up against him.

First, because he hath been the only cause of losing so many men on their party, by perswading the Kings Maiesty to put the Lord *Hopton* upon that designe, he promising to be certain of raising the greatest part in Kent for the King, against Sir *William Waller*.

Secondly, because he is suspected to have correspondencie with Sir *William Waller*.

Thirdly, that he hath all this while idely sought for the obtaining of some honour, hoping to be made a Lord; but aimed at nothing really for the service of the King.

Fourthly, that he is in affection as false to the King, as he was before to the Parliament.

But for my part, I do rather believe the Articles, then that he is committed; yet it may be he might be one of those the Lord *Hopton* sent Prisoners to Bristol.

Some say, that the Siedgers at Midhurst have made an onset on the House, and have done some execution, and made a breach into the Town, but this report is too forward, when the frost and snow will permit them, no doubt, we shall hear further from thence.

The Alarm was beat in all the Cavaliers quarters, both in Northumberland, Cumberland, VVestmerland, Bishoprick, Yorkshires, &c. and the rest under the Earle of Newcastle, to give them notice of the Scots neare approach to Newcastle, and what strength they are able, they prepare to oppose them.

Neither is the taking of the towne all, but the Castle must be gained too; else (for all wee are so hot upon the taking of it) we may be cold enough for want of the coles there; but the greatest Querie is, whether they be yet there for the reasons before specified.

Concerning the fight at Middlewich, it was declared exactly in the last weeks Occurrences, at which time it was also shewed in what great danger Nantwich stood; I could wish it were better considered, the losse of Beeston Castle by treacherous

therous *Steele*, hath almost proved the losse of all *Cheshire*, if help be not speedily sent. A false report was brought to town, that *Sir William Brereton* had taken foure hundred prisoners at *Namptwich*: but upon better information wee find it quite contrary. *Sir William Brereton* is at *Stafford*, and thither *Sir Thomas Fairfax* came unto him, with fourteen hundred horse. But the enemy hath besieged *Namptwich* with a great strength, and desperate souldiers, such as their cruell Generalls *Biron* and *Asston*, that glory to roule themselves in blood; *Sir Thomas* therefore considering that his horse were fitter to relieve *Derbyshire*, then to imagine to remove the siege therewith, marched towards those parts, intending to send them with all speed what foot he can; which indeed requires the greatest haste.

The siege at *Namptwich* still continues, and the enemy hath made three onsets upon the towne, and many have bin slain on both sides, *Capitaine Venables* issued out of the towne with one company into the works, and was so hard put to it, that had not seconds followed close after; he might have lost all, who nevertheless was prevalent, that hee regained foure peices of Ordnance from the enemy, and our men made good all their works.

Since it hath pleased Almighty God to strengthen *Sir William Waller* to keepe the enemy out of *Kent*, &c. and to prosper him very well. There is now no service requires more care, and speed, then the present relieving of *Sir William Brereton*.

Wednesday night, the Lord *Yockine* and two more of the States of *Holland*, Embassadors from the States Generall, landed at *Tower Wharfe*, and were there by the *Earl of Derby*, *Sir Henry Mildmay*, and *Sir William Swickland*, and other Members of Parliament: who saluted them with great respect, and accommodating them with honour due to so noble personages, invited them to dinner at *Merchant Taylors Hall*, where with the *Scottish Commissioners* they met them accordingly, yesterday.

In the morning between nine and ten of the clock, the Lords and Commons met at Christ-Church with the Aldermen, and Common-Counsell-men, of the city of London; to give thanks to God for the great deliverance from the plot lately discovered, as also for the uniting of the two nations of England and Scotland in a Covenant; &c. And Master Marshall preached unto them.

After which Sermon, they went from Christ Church to Merchant Taylors Hall in this manner, all the way being guarded with the trained Bonds of the city.

First went the Common counsell-men in their gownes, and after them the Lord Major, and Aldermen of the city of London; with their Officers, and Attendants.

Secondly, His Excellency with the Lord Admirall, and about Sixteen Earles and Lords, and after them about two hundred Commanders, gallant gentlemen, and able soldiers.

Thirdly, almost two hundred of the House of Commons, which with those that are not well, and those that are abroad in the Army, persuades that there is like to be but a small appearance at Oxford, to vote the remove of the Parliament thither Legall.

Fourthly, about fourescore Ministers of the Assembly.

Such expressions did there proceed from the States Embassadors that seemed to declare, that the States were desirous to confirme the Protestant League by the same Covenant the Scots have done.

There was yester day also high Railes set up about the place, where Cheap-side Crosse stood, and very large like a spacious shop; all hung round with pictures, and Popish trinkets, which caused a very thronged Faire, and all the ware was quickly dispatched, there was crucifixes, and cungering boxes, and velvet crosses, and crosses imbroadred with gold. There was the Virgin Mary crowned Queen of heaven, and Christ a poore servant at her command; there was the Holy Ghost in the likeness of a dove, and Christ pictured with nothing but hands and feet, and an hart of gold in the middle: there was magick spells, and Jacks in boxes: The Bishops crucifix Jesus; and the Nun's holy bushier. There was the bloody hankercloth dipt in the blood of their hanged, and quartered holy Father, there was his holy locks too, which the Popish sisters so well loved, and forty more of the Popish Gods and Reliques; which so soon as ever the States were gone to dinner, were all throwed downe, and cast into the fire, and there burnt; with other Popish books, and blasphemous prints in paper, Beades, and other trinkets.

Published according to Order.

18
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The true Informer:

Continuing a collection of the most special and observable Passages which have been informed from severall parts of his Maj. Itts

DOMINIONS.

From Saturday January 13. to Saturday January 20. 1643.

- I. A relation from Oxford concerning the advancing of the Lord Hutton to the place of Controulers, and of the making Mr. Lane Lord Chiefe Baron of his Majesties Exchequer.
- II. The fortifying divers places of strength in Ireland by the Irish Rebels, with sundry observable passages from thence.
- III. A Preface made by Mr. Marshall before his Sermon preached on Thursday last in Christ-Church.
- IV. A more particular relation of the entertainment of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, the Commissioners of Scotland, and the Assembly of Divines at Marchant-taylors Hall.
- V. A motion made by the Lord Lovelace desiring to submit himselfe to the Parliament, and to be received into their favour.
- VI. The proceedings of the House of Commons concerning the Earle of Holland on Wednesday last.
- VII. Colonel Massies routing 400. English-Irish in their march to the L. Shandoys house, with other observable passages thence.
- VIII. The Cavaliers departing from Toffetes, and other Garrison Townes there, and of their quartering in Gloucestershire.
- IX. The advance of Colonel Norris his Regiment towards Boston in Lincolnshire, and of their intention to meet the Scots.
- X. A relation of the Parliaments Forces in Nantwich their routing the Irish forces thence, and of their taking 4. peeces of Ordnance from them.

London, printed for T. Bates, and J. Wright J. 1643.

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The true Informer:

CONTINUING

A Collection of the most speciall and observable
Passages which have beene informed this
Week from severall Parts of His Majesties
Dominions.



Y occasion of the frigidty of this winter-season, much action cannot be expected to be performed by any Army now on foot in this Kingdome, it being a common priviledge of all souldiers in-Forraigne parts for the most part, not to go forth upon any enterprise in the Winter-Quarter: yet I may relate it to the eternall renouwe of all our worthy Commanders now abroad in the Parliaments service; That they have undertaken as many hard adventures, performed as many brave services, and against as great opposition, as any Army that I have read of either in ancient or moderne times. But indeed this adds to the miserie of a civill warre, that as there is no hatred so deadly as that of brethren or friends, when once occasion of offence is given, so these civill discords are prosecuted with more vigour and earnestnesse, then against any forraigne nation whatsoever. For the present the difficulty and dangerousnesse of passage either for horse or foot hath prevented most of them from prosecuting their late successes against the enemy, it being no part of policie for Commanders to hazard their souldiers, whom they have found so resolute and valorous, in too many desperate and dangerous services, it being the character of a noble and prudent Commander, to prefer the life of one of his own souldiers before many of the enemies. Notwithstanding, that I may not frustrate the expectations of my honest Countrey-men, who are desirous to be truly informed

informed of the Kingdomes affaires, and having divers observable passages which have not been yet imparted by others, I shall this Week continue my Intelligence, and present them unto publike view.

London.

I shall begin with the proceedings in the City on Thursday Jan. 18. on which day, according to the Invitation of the honourable City of London, delivered by their Sheriffs to both Houses on Saturday last, the whole Parliament of Lords and Commons, with the Assembly of Divines, and Scotch Commissioners met at Christ-Church, betweene nine and ten of the clock in the morning, in the first place to testifie and acknowledge their gratitude unto God, for the preservation both of Parliament and City from the late desperate designe of *Road a Jesuit*, *Sir Basil Brooke a Papist*, *Viles a Malignant*, and *Riley an hypocrite*, who had plotted with some Oxford Agents, to have made a dissention and discord between them; there preached before them that reverend and able Divine, *M. Stephen Marshall*, who before his Sermon made an elegant and pathetical Preface, wherein he did excellently set forth both the true occasion of their meeting, and the lustre and glory of that honourable Assembly; which for that it is very observable, I have here set it down as he expressed it, to this effect.

Right Honourable and well beloved in our Lord :

This day is a day purposely set apart for feasting, and it is like one of the Lords Feasts, where you have a Feast and an holy Convocation; and you are first met here to feast your soules with the fat things of Gods House, with a Feast of Fat things, full of marrow, and wine on the lees well refined: and afterwards to feast your bodies with the Fat things of the Land and Sea, both plentie and daintie. But if you please you may first feast your eyes. Doe but behold the face of the Assembly. I dare say it is one of the excellentest Feast that ever your eyes were feasted with. Here in this Assembly you may first see the two Houses of Parliament, the Honourable Lords and Commons, who after this many yeares wrestling with extreame difficulties, in their indeavours to preserve an undivided Kingdom, and to purge and reforme a back-sliding and a polluted Church, you may behold them still not onely preserved from so many treacherous designs, and open violences, but as resolved as ever to go on with this great worke which God hath put into their hands. Here you may also see his Excellency my most honoured Lord, and neere him that

when Noble Lord the Commander of our Forces by Sea, as the other is
 by Land, and with them abundance of Lords and resolute Commanders,
 all of them with their Faces like Lions, who after so many terrible Bat-
 tles, and abundance of difficulties, and charging in the faces of so many
 Deaths, are yet all of them preserved, and not an haire of their head faile
 to the ground. Here also you may behold the representative Body of the
 Citie of London, the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, the Comm^{on}
 Councell, the Militia, and in them the Face and affection of this glorious
 Citie: this Citie which under God hath had the honour of being the grea-
 test meanes of the salvation of the whole Kingdome, and after the expence
 of Millions of Treasure, and thousands of their lives, still as courageous
 and resolute to live and die in the Cause of God as ever heretofore. Here
 you may likewise see a reverend Assembly of grave and learned Divines,
 who daily wait upon the Angell in the Mount, to receive from him the
 lively Oracles and the patterne of Gods House, to present unto you. All
 these of our owne Nation, and with them you may see the Honourable,
 Reverend, and Learned Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, and
 in them behold the wisdom and the affection of their whole Nation, wil-
 ling to live and die with us: all these may you behold in one view. And
 not onely so, but you may behold them all of one minde, after so many plots
 and conspiracies to divide them one from another. And which is yet more,
 you may see them all met together this day on purpose both to praise God
 for this Union, and to hold it out to the Whole world, and thereby to testifie
 that as one man they will live and die together in this Cause of God. Oh
 Beloved, how beautifull is the Face of this Assembly, verily, I may say
 of it as it was said of Salomons Throne, that there like was never to bee
 scene in any other Nation. I question whether the like Assembly was ever
 to be scene this thousand yeares upon the face of the earth. Me thinks I
 may call this Assembly The Host of God, I may call this place Mahanaim,
 and I beleve there are many in this Assembly that would say as
 old Jacob did, when he had scene his sonne Josephs face, Let me now die,
 seeing my sonne Joseph is yet alive. And for mine owne part I am almost
 like the Queene of Sheba, when she had scene the Court of Salomon, it is
 said, that she had no spirit in her; and could send you away, and say, that
 you had no cause to weepe to day, or to morrow, but to cate the fat,
 and drink the sweet, and send portions one unto another: and I should
 send you away presently, but that I have first some banquetting-stuffe for
 your soules, such as the hand of God hath set before you for your inward
 refresh-

referring to the ground whereof you shall find in the 1st Chapter of the
1. Book of Chronicles, and the 31. last Verses, in b 2 q 20. 21. 22. A

Vpon which Text the said Master *Marshall* made an excellent Sermon, fitting his discourse suitable to the persons and occasion. After the conclusion of the Sermon, the said Honourable Assembly went to Merchant-taylors Hall to dinner, all the Regiments of the London Trained Bands standing in a compleat posture from Christ Church to Merchant-taylors Hall, as two wals, betweene which they passed without presse or disturbance. The first that went forth were the Common Councell men and Militia of London in their gownes; after them the Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen in their scarlet gownes on horsebacke, with their Officers and Attendants; next came the Lord Generall and the Lord Admirall together, with about 36. Barles and Lords of the Vpper House of Parliament, and diuers Coloquels and Military Commanders all on foot; and immediately after them came next 100. of the worthy Members of the House of Commons; and then the Commissioners of Scotland, and after all these about 80. Divines of the Reverend Assembly: All which did much content and delight the spectators to see these so noble, faithfull, religious and honourable Pillars of the Truth, and maintainers of their rights and priviledges, and Patrons of the true Religion, appeare with so united a concurrence of hearts and spirits.

The same morning there was set up in Cheapside in the place where the Crosse formerly stood, a standing frame of slight Firre-poles, on which were hung up diuers Pictures and Trinkets, as Crosses, Crucifixes, Images of Saints, *Agnus Dei's*, Beads, Whippes, and other superstitious Reliques, and frivolous inventions of Papists: all which, with a chest of Popish Bookes, were set on fire at the coming by of the said honourable persons, as a testification of their detestation and hatred of all such Romish and Babilonish superstitions: and to declare their intentions to reforme and take away those things which may justly incense the wrath of God against us; one thing is also very remarkable, that after they had been honourably entertained at Merchant-Taylors Hall, and dinner ended, in stead of idle Maskings, and other such uncomely actions heretofore used at such publike meetings, to declare their union of spirit as in the presence of God, all

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sung together the 67. Psalm, to testify their thankfulness to God.
A Religious president worthy to be imitated by all Christians in their
publike meetings.

Ireland.

From Ireland it is advertised, that the miseries and necessities of the
Protestant party there do daily increase; that the Irish Rebels fortifie
all their strong holds, bring all manner of provision into their places of
strength, pillaging and plundering the countreys in all places for those
provisions. We may easily see to whose advantage that unhappy Ces-
sation will turn, if a speedy course be not taken for the relief of the
Protestants in that Kingdome, especially in the province of Ulster, that
oppose it, certainly that particular Oxonian designe, as all the rest, was
rather for the disadvantage of the Protestants then otherwise; for
the Scottish powers in Ulster, they are like to be in some necessity
for want of provision, so that unlesse they have a speedy supply, it is
feared, they will be forced (though much against their wil) to desert
their service there. The Body of Adventurers for Ireland, both Mem-
bers of the House of Commons, Citizens and others, met on Tuesday
last at Grocers Hall for the reliefe thereof, and then agreed upon a Po-
sition which they presented on Wednesday Jan. 17. unto the House of
Commons, wherein they desired that Houle to think upon some way
for their relief: to which the House of Commons resolved to returne
an answer upon Saturday next.

Oxford.

From Oxford we have intelligence, that the great differences be-
tween Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Yarmouth* cannot yet be reconci-
led, but that and other differences daily increase there, insomuch that
divers of the more moderate Malignants would be glad of any oppor-
tunity to come unto the Parliament. We hear that severall of the grand
Malignant Lawyera are advanced to preferment there: that my Lord
Hatton is made Controller, and M. *Lane* Lord chief Baron.
There have been many Writs sealed this week by the Parliaments Seal

at

at Westminster, and it is hoped there will be some store of employ-
ments for the Lawyers here as well as there the next Hilary Terme.

Westminster.

We had a report on Wednesday last, that the Lord *Lovelace* had a desire to comply with the Parliament, and had made some termes of agreement, which he prest with much eagernesse, and promises what security shall be demanded of him for performance of conditions.

The same day there was also a debate in the House of Commons concerning the Earle of *Holland* coming into the House againe, it was urged by some, that a Charge should issue against him, but it was afterwards laid aside, the Parliament being unwilling to discourage any who in the sincerity of their hearts shall desire to come under their protection, and whose consciences shall be convinced of their former errors.

Staffordshire.

By Letters from Stafford dated the 9. of January, it is advertised, that Sir *William Brereton* was then at Stafford when he met with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, that the Lord *Gray* or some of his forces were with him, so that he is now in all neere 6000. horse and foot. They daily expected the Moorlanders to come and joyn with them, intending to march from thence to Manchester, and to add to their strength as many as conveniently they could of that County of Stafford, and from thence to march into Cheshire, taking with them the most well-affected of that side of the County: but whether Sir *William* goes with Sir *Thomas*, or is returned to Nantwich, it is not ascertained. But by Letters of the 13. instant, out of Cheshire it is related, that the Garrison which Sir *William Brereton* kept in Nantwich, had bravely defended themselves against the bloody Lord *Biron* forces, who had made some attempts upon the Towne, but were repulsed with losse. Also it is informed, that they issued out of Nantwich, fell upon the enemy, and did great execution upon them, tooke 4. peeces or Ordnance, and some men prisoner, which they have brought into the Towne. It is hoped they will be shortly able to repay the courtesie of the Lord *Biron*, who put many of the Lancashire forces which hee lately tooke to the sword, notwithstanding he had promised them quarter.

London.

The Quarter Sessions was this week held in the Old Bailey at Chy-
 nery that notable Robber should have been there, but by reason hee is
 desperately wounded, and the bringing him abroad may prejudice his
 life, his triall is deferred till next Sessions, if he shall live so long.

Gloucestershire.

By Letters from *Sedelwood* in Gloucestershire, dated the 13. of this
 instant Januar. the late success of Colonell *Maffie* at Wotton-under-trice,
 in that County is confirmed; where he routed about 400. of English-
 Irish forces, which were going towards the Lord *Shandoy* his house,
 of whom he hath slaine some, and taken most of the rest prisoners with
 much Armes and Ammunition.

It is also further advertised, that many of the Cavaliers forces from
 Tocester and other parts of Northamptonshire are come into Glouces-
 tershire, and quartered in Malmesbury, Beverston, Barkeley, Sedel-
 wood, and severall other places in that County: That one *Durton* a
 malignant Esquire in those parts is now raising the most part of the
 Malignants of that County for the Kings service: Further informing
 That all that part of the County which is under the power of the Ca-
 valiers is much impoverished by reason of their extreame taxes and
 impositions which are laid upon them, the Parish of Sedelwood being
 a small Parish in that County, having beene assessed at 50. pounds a
 moneth ever since the surrender of Bristol, which summe they are for-
 ced to pay, and also to give the Cavaliers free quarter.

Lincolnshire.

Sir *John Norris* his Regiment is designed to goe to *Boston*, and to
 joine with the Lincolnshire forces, who are to go to meet the Scots.

The Orange Regiment and the Greene Regiment of the Trained
 Bands, with the Auxiliars of Southwarke, who lately returned from
 Newport-pannell, kept a solemne day of Thanksgiving for their safe
 returne, on Friday Jan. 19. in Cornhill.

Published according to Order.

THE VOTE¹⁹

OF

Both Houses of Parliament;

Vpon the Discovering of the late Designe.

OR,

A NARRATIVE

OF

A Seditious and Jesuiticall Practice

UPON

The Parliament, and City of London,

Lately discovered;

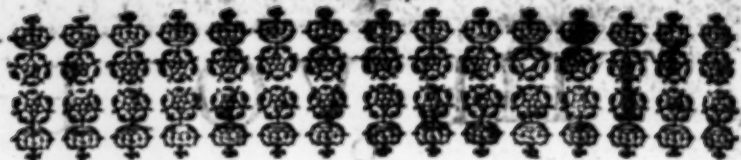
And some Observations upon it by Mr. SOLICITER.

Die Sabbathi, 20 Jan. 1643.

IF is this day Ordered by the Lords and Commons,
That the 21. day of this instant January, being the
Lords day, be kept as a day of Publique Thanksgiving,
for the great Deliverances which God hath given to
the Parliament and City, from the severall Plots and
Designes against them; and more particularly, in disco-
vering the late Designe: And that the Vote of both
Houses upon the late Designe be printed, and read in the
Churches.

H. Elphage, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, Printed for *Peter Cole*. January 22. 1643



A Narrative of a Designe and Practise
upon the City of *London*, lately discovered,
and some Observation upon it by

Mr. Soliciter.

FORASMUCH as it hath pleased *Almighty God*, out of his
goodnesse within these few dayes to make a discovery
to both the Houses of an *intended practise* upon the
Parliament and *City*, and so by consequence upon the
whole *Kingdome*. And in respect, that the *Stage* whereup-
on this designe was to have been acted, were the Houses
of *Parliament*, and principally this *City*, and that some of
the Actors in that *Tragedy* (for so I may call it) were mem-
bers of this *Citie*: And likewise in respect of that neere
Conjunction between the Houses and you, That as *Hypo-
critus* twins, they are like to live and dye together, There-
fore they have commanded me and diverse other Gentle-
men of the House of Commons to make known unto you,
what this designe and practice was.

But before I tell you either what it was, or the dange-
rous consequence of it, I think it will not be amisse, that
you should heare it from one of themselves who was an
Actor and projector of it, that is, from the Lord *Nigby*,
who in a letter writ to Sir *Basil Brooke* concerning this bu-
sinesse doth professe, *That since these troubles did begin, There*

was

was no design, nor no practise that was so likely to have taken, that was so likely to have produced that good effect (as they stile it) as this.

You may very well remember the bloody Designe upon the Parliament and this City discovered about half a yeare since: he himsef said, *That this is above all that hitherto hath been in agitation.* This is their sence upon it, that were the Projectors, and were to have been the Actors in it.

The thing in brief is thus: *It was a seditious and Jesuiticall Practise and Designe, under the specious pretence of Peace, to have rent the Parliament from the City, and the City from the Parliament; To have severed and disjoyned the Parliament within it self, the City within it self, Thereby to render up both Parliament and City to the Designes of the Enemy, which is not all; for the destruction and nulling of this present Parliament was intended; as likewise the engaging our selves in a Treaty of Peace without the advice or consent of our Brethren of Scotland; contrary to the late Articles solemnly agreed upon by both Kingdomes, to the perpetuall dishonour of this Nation, by breach of our publique Faith, engaged therein to that Nation, thereby not only utterly to frustrate our expectation of assistance from Scotland, but which is worse (in all likelihood) to engage the two Nations in broyles, if not in a war.* The Vote.

This in briefe was the design, the particulars whereupon it was framed, and the parties that were Actors in it, I shall likewise discover to you.

There

There was one *Read*, who called himselfe *Collonel Read*, a man I suppose well known by name to this City: He had been heretofore many yeares since, a common Agent for the Papists, he was a principall person to whom the Packets and addressees from *Rome* were made, it was he that did disperse them abroad in the Kingdome, with whom for the advancing of the Popish Cause, continued consultations were held, who for advancing of the Catholique Cause (as they call it) went over into *Ireland*, there fomented the Rebellion, having been one of the Plotters of it, and was taken Prisoner there and sent hither: This was the man, who was the principall contriver and Actor in the present businesse.

Who together with *Sir Basil Brooke* (a known Jesuited Papist, a great Stickler in all the Popish transactions, and Treasurer of the monies lately contributed by the Papists in the War against *Scotland*) both prisoners having laid the designe here, *Mr Reads* enlargement must be procured that he might act his part at *Oxford*; *Sir Basil Brooke* must lye ledger here.

But because so great a businesse required more managers, therefore one *Fiolet* a broken Goldsmith, and a Protestant in shew, must be brought in as a fit person to go between these Papists and the parties in the City; *Mr Ryley* by reason of his place of Scoutmaster of the City, and his reputation amongst the Commoners must be gained, who in these respects might be very usefull, both in the way of Intelligence between *Oxford* and them, as likewise by promoting it with the Citizens; others in the City of principall note amongst the people are dealt withall.

The first thing *Mr Ryley* must act, is the exchange of *Read* (a prisoner for the Treason and Rebellion in *Ireland*) under the name of *Captain Read*, taken prisoner at *Burleigh House* in this Kingdome, for one of no greater ranke than

than a Quarter-master. That being done a *Charatter of Intelligence* was agreed on between *Read*, *Ryley*, and *Violet*, *Read* to be knowne by the name of *Colonel Lee*, *Ryley* by the name of *The Man in the Moone*, and *Violet* by the name of *James Morton*.

After *Reads* going to *Oxford*, the *Queene*, the *Dutches of Buckingham*, and the *Lord Digby* are consulted with; These are the Managers at *Oxford* with his *Majesties* knowledge: *Read* from *Oxford*, by Letters to *Master Rily* by the name of *the Man in the Moone* assures him, *The businesse goes on well at Oxford*; *Promises* of reward are made to *Ryley* and *Violet*: *Peace* being the pretence; Therefore *Propositions* are framed and agreed on, six in number, by *Read*, *Sir Basil Brooke*, *Ryley*, and *Violet*, and scene by others, and afterwards sent to *Oxford*. A *Petition for Peace* being intended, the better to induce that, It was agreed that his *Majestie* must write a powerfull and promising letter to the *Lord Major and Citizens*, to be read at a *Common Hall*, and fit Instruments thought upon to be employed to prepare my *Lord Major* before hand: The Letter was written and agreed upon here by *Sir Basil Brook*, *Master Ryley* and *Violet* and sent to *Oxford*, *Violet* a prisoner by *Master Rileys* means was procured to be exchanged, that he might from *Oxford* bring the letter and advises, for the carrying on of the businesse: At *Oxford* the businesse was so diligently solicited by *Read*, that at *Violets* coming, all things were ready, and after three houres discourse in his *Majesties* presence, with the *Queene*, the *Dutches of Buckingham*, & the *Lord Digby*, *Violet* the same day, (being the Munday before the discovery) dispatched from *Oxford* with his *Majesties* Letter, altered in nothing save the Title, and with another Letter from the *Lord Digby* to *Sir Basil Brooke*, whereby the whole managing of the businesse is intrusted to *Sir Basil Brook*, and it is wholly left to his *Wisdom and Discretion*, whither

the letter to the City shall be delivered or not.

Violet brought both the Letters to *Sir Basil Brooke* the Wednesday after, and one *Wood* having formerly brought a Letter from *Oxford* to the City, the same in matter with this that *Violet* brought, which will be read unto you, *Sir Basil Brook* delivered the Letter that came last from *Oxford* to *Wood* to be delivered to my Lord Major: the next day after which was Thursday, and with direction, That it should have been published on the Fryday: The delivery of it to my Lord Major, by the discovery of it the same day was prevented, and *Sir Basil Brooke*, *Ryley* and *Violet* that night were examined.

Before the Reading of the Examinations, Letters, and Propositions unto you at large, That the main designe to be made out by them, as they are conjoynd and have relation to the precedent narrative, may be the better understood, I shall in brief touch upon the matter of them, as likewise upon such Conclusions as may necessarily be deduced from them.

As first, That no *Peace* was really intended, appears throughout the whole transaction: The propositions, which upon the Supposition that this is no Parliament, if anything, were to have been the ground-work & foundation of it, which upon the reading you will finde so slight and frivolous, that no man can conceive that our *Peace* could have been built upon such a foundation; Nothing so much as spoken of concerning *Ireland*, or the disengaging of of our selves from the Articles of Agreement with our Brethren of Scotland; No provision for Reformation of Religion, or preservation of that we have, or of our Lawes and Liberties: But in stead thereof there are *quadam iniqua*, the *Excise* must be continued beyond the war, that out of it the King might have a benefite, and the debts of the Enemies to the Parliament repayed: and the

(7)
the City immediately to be Treated with.

That no Peace was intended, appears further from the *L: Digbys* Letter (written within a day or two of that to the City) to the *Ki: Agent at Brussels*, who writes that *the French Treaty was at an end, because the Parliament must not be acknowledged to be a Parliament, that as the King for a long time had taken that for a ground, so he held the same resolution still, being thereunto advised by all his Lords at Oxford; and by his resolution of holding a Great Counsell in the nature of a Parliament at Oxford the 22. of this Moneth. And when his Majesties Letter shall be read, you will finde no particulars whereupon a Peace should have been built, save only kinde words in generalls.*

This further appears from the persons who were the first Designers and Contrivers, and were to have been the chief managers from first to last of the businesse, *Read* and *Sir Basil Brook* known Iesuited Papists, and alwaies active in promoting Popish practizes; This Peace must have been such as these persons shall contrive. The prayer for our deliverance from the Gunpowder Treason agreed upon in Parliament, saith, That the Faith of such Papists is faction, Their practises, the murdering of the soules and bodies of men; *Read* he hath been a Contriver and prosecutor of of the bloody Tragedies of the Protestants in Ireland; the other not without suspicion to have had his hand in it; what is said concerning the Queen in that particular, is set forth by the Declaration of both or one of the Houses, and the Articles of her Impeachment; the Countesse of Buckingham (beside that her husband hath appeared visibly in that Rebellion) is not free of other cause of suspicion: These as was said before, assisted with the *Lord Digby*, must be the Instruments of this Peace; which as it is set forth in his *Majesties* Letter, must be such as that whereby the true Protestant Religion, the Lawes and Liberties of

the Kingdome must be maintained.

These Papiſts you ſee, who had done ſo good ſervice for the Proteſtant Religion in Ireland, muſt lay the foundation for the preſervation of it here.

Sir Baſil Brook, and Read, well knew that the Pope and and Popery have been baniſhed this Kingdome by the Parliaments of England, and that the ſucceeding Parliaments to this time have alwaies endeavored the ſuppreſſion of popery, and therefore Degenerating from their Predeceſſors, who in the Gun-powder Treason endeavoured for that cauſe to have blown up the parliament, They muſt now endeavour the Preſervation of the Parliament, and the Lawes and the Liberties of the Kingdome:

The things which from this briefe Narrative, the reading of the Examinations, Propositions, and Letters, will appeare to have been deſigned, are theſe;

First the dividing the Parliament from the City, and the Parliament and the City within themſelves.

First in reſpect that this Treaty of *Peace* was to have been immediately between the King and the City, and that whereupon the *Peace* of the whole Kingdome ſhould have been ſetled, as appeares by his Majesties Letter, what wide rents ſuch a Treaty muſt have produced between the City and Parliament is obvious. Again, for the proſecution of the Treaty when entertained by the City; ſafe conducts were to have been granted, not only to thoſe of the City, but to ſuch of the Members of either Houſe, as would have repaired to *Oxford* for that purpoſe, Every man ſees by this, what diſſion and confuſion would have followed both in City and Parliament. The Projectors were well acquainted with *Machiavels* maxime, *divide & impera*.

The ſecond was no leſſe then the utter deſtruction, the nulling and making voyd of this preſent Parliament, as
will

will appeare by the Lord *Digbyes* letter to *De vic*, and the summoning of the great Councell or Parliament at *Oxford* compared with the third of these Propositions. By the letter to *De vic* this Parliament, as the resolution then was at *Oxford*, must not be acknowledged; and by this third Proposition for that very cause, the Parliament must be waved, and the Treaty must be immediatly between the King and City. The consequence whereof had been no lesse then the rendring of the Kingdome for ever incapable of having any more Parliaments; This Parliament, It was called and continued according to the knowne Lawes and Usages of the Kingdome, was afterwards by an Act of Parliament, assented unto by his Majestie, so acknowledged, and made indissolvable without its own consent; (a greater Testimony of the validity of this Parliament, then I think was ever given to any:) If neither the Common Lawes and usages of this Kingdome, nor the concurrent Authority of an Act Parliament be able to support this Parliament, when his Majestie shall declare the contrary, I shall without more words leave to your judgements, whether this doctrine doth not at once blow up the fundamentalls of all Parliaments, Lawes of the Kingdome, Libertie of the Subjects, and of the whole pollicie and Government of this Kingdome, which being destroyed, what security you could have devised for the maintaining of the Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of the Kingdome, as is promised you in his Majesties letter, I know not.

3. The third was not onely the preventing of the assistance of our Brethren in *Scotland*; But that which is worse, and must have necessarily followed thereupon, the embroiling of both the Nations in divisions, in all likelihood far all unto both, this will appeare by putting together what hath beene done by the *Parliament*, those at
Oxford

Oxford, and the transactions in this designe.

The Parliament long since have invited that Nation to our assistance in this common cause upon weighty considerations.

As first, conceiving that by this meanes through Gods blessing, this great cause which concernes our Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and all we have, would be assured, and the event of the War, otherwise doubtfull, made more certaine.

2. Secondly, that by their assistance the war might be the sooner ended, and so by consequence the calamities which of necessity must accompany it, their assistance adding so considerable a strength to our party, besides the reputation which the concurrence of a whole Nation with us, will add to the justnesse of the cause.

3. And thirdly, that as in likelihood by their joynt concurrence, a better Peace for present might be procured, so in all probability what shall be agreed upon would be the more lasting and durable, both Nations being equally interested in what should be agreed upon.

Besides the Covenant maturely sworn and agreed upon by both Nations for the maintenance and defence of Religion, and of the mutuall Lawes and Liberties of each Kingdome, a solemne league and Treaty hath likewise beene mutually agreed upon between the Parliament here and that Kingdome, concerning the manner of their assistance (and great sums of money have been thereupon sent unto them.) In which Treaty one Article is, *That neither Nation shall entertaine any Treaty of Peace, without the advice and consent of the other.* This in briebe containes the transactions between that Nation and the Parliament. At *Oxford* by papers in the forme of Proclamations, they have stiled this assistance, an Invasion of the Kingdome, and one end of the calling of that great Councell or Par-

liament

liament is for opposing of the same.

In the carriage of the present designe, by one of Beads letters to Ryley bp seith, *That a dove is open by the coming in of the Scots for the destruction of this Kingdome; That therefore this Peace must presently be concluded. That all is lost unlesse it be done speedily.* The maine intent of the letter is for the speeding of it to that end. The Lord Digbyes letter to Sir Basil Brooke, referring the delivering of his Majesties letter to my Lord Mayor to his discretion, he forthwith delivers it to Wood, to be the next day delivered to my Lord Mayor, and the next day after the delivery to be by him published, He saw it necessary, and so resolved at Oxford, *That we must speedily breake with the Scots.*

Their assistance, how necessary, and by Gods blessing how beneficiall it is like to be unto us, I think you see, but this must be prevented; The honour and publike faith of Nations how Sacred it is, and from the rules of Religion and common policie, how tenderly to be preserved each man knowes, *But this designe must violate and staine our honour in the highest: For contrary to the Article before mentioned, this Treaty must presently be set on foot without them; such violations are alwayes deeply resented by the parties injured: how dangerous therefore the consequence must needs have been,* he that runnes may reade.

This was the Designe: It was too Ugly, It was too Black, Bare fac'd, to have been presented to your view, and therefore it must be masqu'd; This hook must be baited with the sweet word Peace, It hath been long since observed from the Ecclesiasticall proceedings of the Romish Church, *That in nomine Domini Incipit omne malum*, The Holy Name of God must bear out all their Spirituall wickednesses: The end of all Civill Policie is the preserving of just and Honourable Peace; and therefore these

these men when Divisions, Violence, and what is most contrary to *Peace* is intended, yet for the compassing of these ends, *Peace* must be pretended. So was it by many of them about this time twelve-moneth Designed in their Petition to the Parliament for a *Peace*, and so was it in the bloodie plot upon the Citie, and diverse Members of both Houses discovered the last Summer. For upon the examinations of diverse of them, It appeared that the ground of that plot was laid in the first Petition, and that the second was to have been guilded over with a Petition for *Peace*.

These men, (I speak of these designs) they cry *Peace*, *Peace*, that destruction might have come upon you as an armed man: You shal now hear the examinations and other things read at large unto you.



Ff N 7 S.

A horrible murder miracu-
lously discovered.

The Queen is departing.

A happy Union solemnized.

Popish trash burnt.

(411)

20

Numb. 53.

CERTAIN E
INFORMATIONS

From severall parts of the Kingdome, and
from other places beyond the Seas, for the better
satisfaction of all such who desire to be truly
Informed of every weeke's Passage.

From the 15. of January, to the 22. of January. 1644. 1643

Monday, January 15.

WE shall begin this weeke with a horrible murder, and miracu-
lously discovered thus. In the Parish of *Staple*, situate between
Canterbury and *Sandwich* in the County of *Kent*, one *Mathews* a
Bachelor, aged about 25. yeares, lived in a house of his own, having lands
to it worth about 400. li. his trade a Ropemaker, he kept house alone with a
maid servant, who was reported to be with childe by him. And the last *De-*
cember, one *Taylor* a Farrier, commonly called *Doctor Dick*, often fre-
quented the said *Mathews* house, for about three weekes together, being re-
sident there from his own house ten miles distant from that place, though a
stranger to *Mathews*. And upon a Monday his wife came to him, and on
that Monday night in the darke, *Doctor Dick* went to a neighbours house,
and desired to borrow two candles, desiring that neighbours wife to come to
Mathews house quickly, for (said he) his maide is very like to die. She was
ill, and I gave her a drink, which she should have taken at three times, and
she took it all at once; the neighbours wife went with him, and when they
came to *Mathews* house, *Doctor Dick's* wife met them at the door, and cried
out she is dead, O Lord she is dead, making great seeming lamentation, so
the neighbours wife went in and found the maide warme in her bed, and af-
ter a while the women laid her forth, *Doctor Dick's* wife holding the maide
head in her lap as she was laid downe, then the neighbours wife departed

H h h

home

home, *Mathews* lying very sicke in his bed (as he seemed) in a loft over the maides chanber, which was unseeled, so that he might heare the least noise below.

The next day, a Midwife that dwelt neere, hearing of the maides death, came to see her, *Dick* and his wife bid her look upon her if she pleased, which she doing, presently cried out, here hath been a childe, a man childe, which they denied, and she affirmed, they bid her search, which she did but found none, but she said they had hid it, and so she departed for the present.

The day after, the Midwife with other women came to the buriall of the maide, and while they were at *Mathews* house, his dog brought in his mouth before the company, a piece of the childe containing the back bone and some ribs, together with the heart and liver of the child, which the Midwife seeing, said to Doctor *Dick*, looke there you old villaine, there is the maides childe which you have murdered, he replied it was some Carrion, but it was found to be as the Midwife said.

Then a Plough-boy said, that the Ravens flew down into such a field beyond the street, and then flew back to *Mathews* house, and from thence to the field often, and croaked most strangely. The women went to the field, and viewing the Ravens, they found where they late, a gut to hang out of the ground: and digging there, they found the hinder parts of a man childe from the middle complear, and a little further they found the head, the braines and eyes being pickt out by the Ravens, these fragments the Midwife carried to *Mathews* house in her lap, and then Doctor *Dick* was sadling his horse to as gone, but the women halped the Stable door, and kept him in till company came, and he being carried with his wife to the Justice of Peace, they put the maide uncoffined upon the Beer, and as she lay there her head turned to her right shoulder, which they laid right again, mistrusting nothing; but with the least motion her head moved and fell awry, which being observed, they looked on it, and the clothes being taken off her face and neck, they conceived her neck was broken, and it casually fell out, that a Chirurgion rode by at that instant, and he viewing it, found her neck broken, and the blood seled about her neck very black, and he easily turned her face round to her back, and found blood in her mouth and her cheek black.

A Coroners Inquest presently examining the premises, found *Mathews*, the Farrier, and his wife guilty of the maides and childes death, and at the Sessions at *Canterbury*, January 11. the particulars before recited were proved by severall witnesses, and thereupon the Farrier and his wife were found guilty by the Grand Inquest, but they acquitted *Mathews*, who was thereupon

upon discharged, but the Jury of life and death and found the Farrier and his wife guilty of those murders, and upon the evidence then alledged, and the allegations of the Farrier and his wife, the Bench sent for *Mathews*, and committed him to prison, the Sessions being ended when he came, he is to appear at the next Assises. The Farrier and his wife affirmed, that none was in the house when the maid died but *Mathews*, and Doctor *Dick* affirmed, that *Mathews* was sicke a bed when the Wench died, and his wife affirmed, that her husband being gone to call the neighbour, *Mathews* was in the maids chamber when she died, and went up to bed at the instant of her death, and Doctor *Dick* said he gave her no drinke at all but salter oyle and treacle, but they both cleared *Mathews* vehemently.

It is conceived, that though they will confesse nothing now, this 12. of Jan. yet it will be found, that *Mathews* hired the Farrier to make away the childe, and that, to close the businesse further, they brake the maids necke, and that *Mathews* knew of all the proceedings. *Mathews* was abroad the day before the maid died, and it is certaine, that the Saturday before her death, the Farrier denied her to be within, and told one which asked for her, that he had sent her to another Parish on an errand, and it is conceived she was then in travell, or delivered.

This Farrier, Doctor *Dick*, was a great Malignant, and enemy to the proceedings of Parliament, and suffered his cattell to be seized, rather then he would pay any thing for their defence, he had beene burnt in the hand for Felony, and was accounted a Sorcerer.

At the next Assises in Kent, this matter will be prosecuted in against *Mathews*, and what Doctor *Dick* and his wife will discover before their execution, is not yet knowne; when the Judge asked him and his wife at their condemnation, what Divines he would have for his soules instruction, and told him he might have able Divines in the City, Doctor *Dick* answered, he was content with those that were in the Prison, there being now divers notorious Malignant and scandalous Ministers in that prison, secured as Incendiaries.

When the Grand Inquest had acquitted *Mathews*, a neighbour of his, by the advice of one a Malignant Councellour at Law, who had been dealt with to assist *Mathews*, as one confessed, did send away the witnesses, so that when Doctor *Dick* and his wife should have tried, the witnesses were gone home into the Countrey, so that their triall was put off untill the next day, and that party was fined twenty pound, and bound in a hundred pound bond to bring in the witnesses the next day,

which he did, but his wife gave but weak evidence, and especially she endeavoured to cleare *Mathews*, and one of the Grand Inquest said, that his wife spake as if something troubled her conscience.

Reader, observe from this, and other former Relations, what kinde of people are enemies to our Parliament, and take part with the Cavaliers, and you shall finde them for the most part blasphemers, swearers, Atheists, Jesuites, Papists, drunkards, whoremongers, murderers, robbers and plunderers, profane and ignorant persons, that deny the power of godliness, and butt Reformation.

Tuesday, January 16.

A Letter from the Town of *Stafford*, dated the eight of this instant moneth of *January*, certifieth that *Sir William Brereton* was then in that Towne, and that *Sir Thomas Fairfax* came thither the evening before, with sixteen hundred horse and Dragoners to assist him, and that they expected the Moorelanders and other *Staffordshire* foot to come into them, and then they intended to set upon the English Irish forces, that besieged *Namptwich* in *Cheshire*, and to drive them from thence.

And some have since reported, that those two noble Chieftaines, marched with their Army out of *Stafford* upon Wednesday last, to relieve the forces that defend *Namptwich* against the enemy.

We have seen a Letter from *Fa-mham* in *Surrey*, which certifieth, that some of *Sir Samuel Lukes* Scouts reported there, that *Prince Rupert* went with his horse from *Oxford*, to convoy the *Marquesse Hamilton* to *Bristol*, to be kept Prisoner in the Castle there, and that he was to returne from thence to *Ralph Hopton* at *Winchester* in *Hantsire*, to aide him against *Sir William Waller*. And further, that the Queen was going also to *Bristol*, to take shipping there (as it is supposed) to depart out of the Kingdom, which report agreeth with one clause of the *Lord Goringes* late intercepted Letter, viz. that she intended to come over into France. And it is probable enough, that she will not abide in *Oxford*, untill the Scots come neer the town. But how she can escape the Earle of *Warwicks* ships that are now upon the *Westerne* coastes, may much be doubted.

This day, about eight or nine Cart loades of the Cavaliers, that were taken prisoners at *Arundell Castle*, were brought into the City of *London*, and they are distributed into severall places of custody; for their better safekeeping. In this manner of their conveying, we cannot but take notice of the mercifull dealing of the Parliaments forces to their malicious and mortall enemies, who use them like men and Christians, and not like brute beasts; as the power

Cyracesser

Cyrenceſter men were, who were forced to trot up to the knees in dirt, tied together with match, and almost naked, were brought into the loathsome dungeons at *Oxford*.

Dorset *Laure* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was this day conveyed from the Tower of *London*, to the Right honourable House of Peeres, to answer to his impeachment, where he excusing his unpreparednesse to answer, was remanded back againe untill *Monday* next.

Wednesday, January 17.

We are now informed, that *Sir William Brereton*, and *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, marched the last week from *Stafford*, to a Towne called *Stone* in that County, and that they were to go from thence to *Lytel*, another Towne in that County, to joyne with the *Morelanders*, who are ready to assist them: and from thence they will march to *Makessfield* in *Cheshire*, where the *Lancashire* forces meet them, and there they will all joyne to a body, and make a compleat Army, from whence they will go to *Namptwich*, to relieve that besieged Towne, which hath held out above this fortnight, against those cruell and bloody *Irish* forces, that glory in their new begun Massacres, in that part of this Kingdome, the prime Motor whereof, as we heare, was *Sir John Byron* the Governour of *Chiffer*; which course, if the Parliaments forces should have taken upon all the Cavaliers they have taken, this bloody intestine war had most been ended by this time, and if the Cavalier party proceed thus to deny Quarter, and to put our men to the sword, all clemencie and lenity on our part must cease, and the Cavaliers must (and that worthily) receive the like Rereliation.

There is a report come from the Towne of *Stafford*, that *Captaine Venable*, one of the Commanders in the besieged Towne of *Namptwich* in *Cheshire*, issued out with a Parly of souldiers, to give the enemy a Camisado in their quarters, but his numbers being too small to cope with the enemy, were surrounded by them, and so far engaged, that if another party of stout and resolute men had not issued out of *Namptwich* to disengage them, they had all been lost; but the sight of this new Relieve out of the Towne, so much quailed the enemy, that they were forced to retire from assailing *Captaine Venable* and his men, who by the helpe of that Relieve, seized upon some of the enemies piece of Ordnance, and with the slaughter of about thirty of the enemy, brought them safely to the Towne. If this be certainly true, no doubt but we shall have a more particular Relation of it shortly. This action we believe was the ground of that unwarranted Report the last week, that about nine hundred of the enemies forces should be slain, and taken

prisoners in Cheshire, which was too large to receive full credit.

Thursday, January 18.

Yesterday in the evening, the States Ambassadors came from Gravesend in Kent to the Tower Wharfe, from whence they were brought in Coaches to their Lodgings in *Westminster*, they were attended by above twenty Coaches, and it hapned so, that when they came at the Stocks in *London*, a Troope of horse that came from *Arundell* in *Sussex*, came up in the Rear, and attended them through some part of the City. The Ambassadors are three in number, their names are, the Lord of *Rinswoude*, an ancient Gentleman neere *Utrecht* in *Holland*, the Lord *Albertus Joachimus*, one of the States Generall resident at the Hague, who hath heretofore been an Ambassador here from the States, and the Lord *Borch Pensionarius* of *Amsterdam*.

These are known to be able, wise, understanding, and religious honest men, and therefore it is deemed, that their Embassage may do good, if the Councells at *Oxford* will really yeild to such an Accomodation, as may stand with the safety of Religion, Parliament, Law, and Liberty.

The Memory of this day will no doubt be continued to succeeding Generations, wherein the Union of the Parliament and City of *London* was solemnized thus: In the morning, the Parliament and Assembly of Divines came to Christ-church in *London*, where they were met by the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and Common Councell of the City, and there the Lord Maior gave a Sermon preached by Master *Stephen Marshall*, one of the Right Reverend a Sermon, which being ended; first, the Common Councell led the way, then followed the Lord Maior and Aldermen in their Scarlet on horseback, next after them came many Gentlemen bare headed, who were followed by his Excellency the Earle of *Essex*, the Earle of *Warwicke* Lord Admirall, and the Earle of *Manchester*, and other of the Noble Peeres, then came the Honourable House of Commons, who were followed by the Assembly of Divines, and after them some Lords in their Coaches, and then some of the City trained bands compleatly Armed brought up the Reare, the Trumpets and loud Musicke playing in Cheapside, while they passed by, and so they went to Merchant Taylors Hall, where they were sumptuously feasted at the Cities charge. And after the whole traine was passed Cheapside, a Scaffold that was buik upon the place where the old Crosse stood, which was hung with Popish Crucifixes and pictures was fired and burnt downe.

Friday, January 19.

Out of *Northamptonshire* they write, that three of Colonell *Cromwells* best Troops of horse were surprized in their quarters, between *Bourne* and *Steford*

Steford in *Lincolneshire*, by the *Newarke* Cavaliers: viz. Major *Disboroughes*, Captaine *Eyres*, and Captaine *Bethells*, where they took about sixscore men, & almost all their horses. Major *Disboroughes* men were all taken, but ten of them, and their losse is much lamented, because they were all godly men, but it is hoped they will be all quickly exchanged. Colonel *Whaits*, at *Burgblay* house, hath againe taken about fourteene of the *Belvoir* castle Cavaliers, with a Captaine, and some Officers, and recovered much cattell, which they had stolen in *Rutlandshire*. Three wandering Rogues came to one *Hitchcotes* house, brake open the doore, sware they would kill him, if he would not tell where one *Cantbornes* money was, which he could not tell, and after much affrighting him, they took a horse from one *Fremman* dwelling next to him, and so departed; they lurke about *Suly*, and commit many robberies every week, yea almost every day, and if this snow had not hindered, there would have beene something done, &c. but more hereafter, &c.

Out of the West-countrey, it is informed, that the Cornish Cavaliers have deserted any further attempt upon *Plymouth*, saying, that it is but a small Towne, and not worth the taking, (as the Fox said the grapes were lowre, and not worth the leaping at, because he could not reach them) but that they would joyne with Sir *Ralph Hopton* to take the City of *London*, which was well worth their paines and travell, and to that end they were coming to *Salisbury* in *Wiltshire*, whither Sir *Ralph Hopton* is gone (as it is said) to meet them; but without doubt, though they make *London* easie to be taken, they will finde it a sowerer mortell, then the Fox would have done of the grapes, if they dare adventure the triall.

It is reported by some *Glocestershire* men, that are lately come to *London*, that Colonell *Mussy* sent a hundred of his men to *Wotton under-edge* in that Countrey, where they took about sixscore Cavaliers, and carried them into the City of *Glocester*. And some say, that those Cavaliers were willing to be seized on, because they desire to do service for the King and Parliament.

Saturday, January 20.

From *Oxford* it is reported, that there hath been a Quarrell betweene Prince *Rupert*, and Master *Henry Jermin*, whom we cannot call a Lord, or Earle, because a late Ordinance of Parliament, hath nullified all honours and

and dignities passed by the old great Seale at *Oxford*, since it was fraudelently conveyed from the Parliament. And it is also affirmed, that the Mortality still continues at *Oxford*, and that there hath died in that City about two thousand persons, since the Cavaliers came first in there.

Out of Germany they write, that since the Swedes have left *Silesia* and all those parts, the Imperialists have taken *Sagan*, and divers other places there, and they have besieged *Zittau* in *Sil. sia*, where their condition is so miserable, that both men and beasts perish with famine. That the Weymarish begin to flock about *Basil*, whose horse are for the most part there, the Viscount of *Turion* being arrived there to Command the Army, and to put all into good order. The Duke of *Bavaria* increaseth his Army every day more and more, and hath given order to block up *Uberlingen* and *Hohenwill*.

At *Munster* in Westphalia, where all the Christian Princes Ambassadours are assembled to Treat of Peace, nothing is yet done, but onely disputing about Precedency between the States of Venice and Holland, because they would not have the Venetians wronged, and so for the present, greatneise is more respected then Peace, &c.

It is reported, that some ships have lately been forced into *Dartmouth*, by a strong South-East winde, one whereof came out of the West Indies, and was bound for *London*, another of them, being laden with goods for *Saint Malo* in France, came from *Saint Lucars* in Spaine.

We have yet no certainty where the Scots Army is, onely it is reported, that they have reports at *Hull*, that they are betweene *Barwick* and *Newcastle*.



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